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On the Electoral Statistics of the Counties and Boroughs in England and Wales during the Twenty-five years from the Reform Act of 1832 to the present time. By WILLIAM NEWMARCH, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Statistical Society.

[Read before the Statistical Society, 16th June, 1857.]

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I.—Introduction.

THE discussion of several classes of Public Questions has for some time past tended to direct attention to the *bonâ fide* character of the Facts relating to the *present* state of the Parliamentary Representation of the several portions of the United Kingdom; and also to the *changes* which have really taken place in the extent and distribution of the Electoral body since the great constitutional event of the Reform Act of 1832.

It is not to be denied, and perhaps it is also to be regretted, that these discussions are mostly carried on by partisans who bring into the controversy far more earnestness and excitement than is compatible with any impartial or careful examination of the true circumstances of the case. On one side dislike and apprehension are excited by suggested changes, which on the other are regarded as measures so trifling as to be contemptible.

I do not in the least degree pretend that on these fundamental public questions I am entirely neutral. On the contrary, it is probable that I entertain opinions so distinct that I might be described as a pronounced adherent of one of the great parties. But I think I may venture to premise, that so far as the enquiry embraced in this Paper is concerned, it shall not be an easy task for the reader to discover whether it is written by a person who is desirous of a large measure of further change, or by a person who is desirous of retaining the present settlement undisturbed.

It is perfectly clear that as the basis of all profitable consideration, whether of the arguments of those who desire to enlarge the suffrage, or of the arguments of those who desire that the number of voters should remain as it is,—we must adopt some impartial and reasonable statement of the leading facts of the question;—and such a statement it is the intention of this Paper—of course very imper-

fectly—to supply as regards the Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales.

There seem to be four obvious and principal points of view, under each of which we must of necessity arrive at positive conclusions concerning the Facts, before we can even commence the examination of any proposed Measures.

We must ascertain: (1) the present number of County and Borough Voters under the several qualifications; (2) the Territorial distribution of the County and Borough Voters, not merely in the several counties enumerated in the usual order, but in as many Groups of Counties as will fairly exhibit the leading industrial interests of the country;—(3) the progress which has been made on these Groups of County and Borough Voters during the twenty-five years which have elapsed since 1832; and (4), the real numerical effect upon the Electoral Body of some of the more prominent schemes for extending the franchise.

II.—*General Outline of the Principal Facts.*

This enquiry is confined to *England and Wales*. At some future time, perhaps, an effort may be made to extend it to Scotland and Ireland. But even if it should proceed no further, it must be remembered that England and Wales contain *three-fourths* of all the County and Borough Electors in the United Kingdom; and return *three-fourths* of all the Parliamentary Representatives who assemble at Westminster*.

These general results will appear more distinctly from the following Table (A)—a Table which has been framed purposely to serve as a starting point of the subsequent deductions.

And in combination with Table (A), it is desirable to consider the Table (B) inserted at page 172.

We have in (A) the Total of the population in 1851; and the Total number of County and Borough Voters—not merely as regards England and Wales—but also as regards Scotland and Ireland.

In (B) the view is confined to England and Wales—and the leading feature of the statement, is (col. 5) the number of *Adult Males* of 20 years and upwards—distinguishing the conjugal conditions of Unmarried, Married, and Widowers—and stating the number of Houses. As the general result, we find that in 1851 there were (say) 3,460,000 Houses—and 3,200,000 Male Heads of Families—omitting for the present purpose the Unmarried men, and making approximate allowance for the year of age between 20 and 21.

We find from Table (A), that the Total Electors in 1851–2 were (say) 920,000.

* The details in this Paper have been chiefly compiled from materials to be found in the following Parl. Papers, viz., 1838/329:—1847/751:—1853/106:—1854/280: the Paper obtained in 1849 by Mr. Poulet Scrope, on the Rating of Tenements, and referred to hereafter, is 630, 1849. The Census of 1851 has, of course, been employed in many ways. The *Spectator* Newspaper and Supplement of 7th Jan., 1854, contains an admirable digest of facts connected with the Electoral Statistics of the United Kingdom.

TABLE A.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION, 1851.—*England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, Counties and Boroughs.—Statement of Population, Members, and Electors.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Population, 1851. (Persons.)				COUNTRY.	Members.		Electors on Register, 1851-2.		Proportion of Electors to Population.	
Counties and County Divisions.		Boroughs, excluding County Divisions.			Cos.	Boros.	Cos.	Boros.	Cos.	Bors.
No.	Popln.	No.	Popln.		No.	No.	No.	No.	One in	One in
69	9,769,	....	....	ENGLAND Cos.	144	....	472,700	....	20·7	....
....	....	186	7,147,	„ Bors.	....	321	....	399,200	....	18·0
12	719,	....	....	WALES Cos.	15	....	36,400	....	20·0	....
....	....	14	286,	„ Bors.	....	14	....	11,800	....	24·0
81	10,488,	....	....	SCOTLAND Cos.	159	....	509,100	....	20·8	....
....	....	200	7,433,		....	335	....	411,000	....	18·1
30	1,780,	....	....		30	....	50,800	....	35·0	....
....	....	21	1,136,		....	23	....	81,000	....	14·0
111	12,268,	....	....	IRELAND... Cos.	189	....	559,900	....	21·7	....
....	....	221	8,569,		....	358	....	492,000	....	17·4
32	5,727,	....	....		64	....	126,200	....	45·4	....
....	....	34	828,		....	41	....	30,000	....	27·6
143	18,095,	....	....	{ United Kingdom }	253	....	686,100	....	26·3	....
....	....	255	9,397,		....	399	....	522,000	....	18·0

Note.—In the cols. 2 and 4 of Population the three figures at the unit end are omitted—thus, 9,769, represents 9,769,000.

The total number of 658 members composing the House of Commons, will be obtained by adding to the 652 (253 + 399) given above, 4 members for Oxford and Cambridge Universities and 2 members for the University of Dublin. The *four* members formerly appertaining to St. Albans and Sudbury are included in the 335 Borough Seats in England.

The Population in col. 2, as regards Counties and County Divisions, is *exclusive* of the population of the Parliamentary Boroughs, *within* those Counties and County Divisions.

The figures relative to Scotland and Ireland are compiled from the Fourth Edition of McCulloch's *British Empire*. Cols. 10 and 11 give the Proportion of Electors to Population. Thus, in the English Counties, there is *one* Elector to every 20·7 persons.

We have then under Table (B) one positive, and two (at present) uncertain extremes of the question; for example, with the existing qualifications we have 920,000 voters; but by no extension or abolition of qualifications could the number of voters be increased beyond 3,200,000 Adult Heads of Families; or (say) 4,570,000 Adult Males, Married and Unmarried. What are the considerations to be applied in endeavouring to fix upon some mean between 920,000 and 4,570,000 we shall find as we proceed.

TABLE B.
ENGLAND AND WALES, 1851.—*Males and Females under and above*
20 years, &c.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Total of Persons at All Ages.	Under 20 Years.		CENSUS, 1851. Conjugal Condition.	Adults, 20 Years and above.	
	Females.	MALES.		MALES.	Females.
No.	No.	No.		No.	No.
17,927,	4,047,	4,064,	ENGLAND AND WALES	4,717,	5,099,
10,956,	4,023,	4,059.	Unmarried.....	1,429,	1,445,
5,975,	22,	5,	Married.....	2,954,	2,994,
996,	1,	—	Widowers and Widows.....	334,	662,
17,927,	4,047,	4,064,	<i>Total Persons</i>	4,717,	5,101,
....	....	....	1851. Houses.—Inhabited	3,278,	....
....	....	....	“ “ Uninhabited ...	154,	....
....	....	....	“ “ Building	26,	....
....	....	....	<i>Total Houses</i>	3,458,	....
			The proportion borne by the <i>Total Houses</i> to Adult Males was as 1 House to 1·4 Adult Males; and further, as 1 House to 5·2 <i>Persons</i> of All Ages.		

Note.—The three figures at unit end are omitted; thus, 17,927 represents 17,927,000.

For approximate purposes, the total number of Males between the ages 20—21, may be taken at 3 per cent. of the total number of Males (4,717,000) at 20 and above. To arrive, therefore, at the total number of Males 21 and above, we must deduct, say 142,000, leaving 4,575,000; and upon this reduced number of Adult Males the total Houses represent a proportion of 1 House to 1·32 Adult Males of 21 and above.

But the relative extent to which Voters are deserved for Counties and Boroughs from the different *kinds* of qualifications, is as important almost as the Total number of qualified persons.

III.—*Leading Classes of the County and Borough Qualifications.*

It is no part of my purpose to enter into the intricate and tedious technicalities of Election Law. I profess to do no more than indicate the principal classes into which County and Borough Votes have been divided since the Reform Act of 1832; that is, since the statute passed 7th June, 1832, and known as the 2nd Will. IV., cap. 45.

In *Counties* the Forty Shilling Freehold qualification is traced back to a statute of the 8th of Henry VI. Under that statute the right of voting for Knights of the Shire was limited to those persons within each County who were possessed of freehold property of the clear yearly value of 40s. Prior to this limitation the County fran-

chise was exercised by all those who attended the County Courts. The Reform Act preserved this ancient freehold franchise unchanged. That Act also conferred the County Franchise:—(1) on the Life Tenants of freehold property in actual possession thereof; (2) on Copyholders of any estate of not less than 10*l.* clear yearly value; (3) on Leaseholders under leases originally granted for 60 years, the clear yearly value of the property held being 10*l.*; (4) on Leaseholders for 20 years of property of the clear yearly value of not less than 50*l.*; and (5) by virtue of what was called the Chandos Clause,—because moved by the Marquis of Chandos (now Duke of Buckingham), with the view, it was alleged, of increasing the command of large landowners over the County elections—on all persons occupying as Tenants from year to year any lands or tenements for which the rent *bonâ fide* payable is not less than 50*l.* per ann. In ascertaining the clear yearly value, it was provided that *no* deduction should be made under the plea of charges for public taxes, or for parish, church, or county rates. By a variety of technical provisions, the County Franchise was also conferred on Mortgagees and Trustees when holding property under peculiar conditions; and also upon certain holders of Offices and recipients of Annuities and Rent charges.

In general terms, the County Franchise since 1832 has included four principal classes of voters, enumerating them according to their importance; namely: (1) Freeholders; (2) Occupying 50*l.*, &c., Tenants; (3) 10*l.*, &c., Copyholders; and (4) Leaseholders of 10*l.* for sixty years, or of 50*l.* for twenty years.

To remedy effectually the intolerable delays and uncertainties which prevailed prior to 1832 in ascertaining who at any given time were the actual and *bonâ fide* electors, whether of a County or Borough, it was a leading part of the Reform Act to establish a Yearly Register of all the persons qualified at a certain time (July) in each year to possess votes, and to regard that Register as final and conclusive for all purposes during the twelve months of its currency. In Counties—freeholders claiming votes must have been for six months prior to any 1st July in actual possession of the property—and leaseholders and tenants must have been *bonâ fide* such for twelve months. It was also adopted as a general principle that the *same property* should not confer both a County and Borough Vote within the same County. The name of the *same person* might appear *more* than once in the same County or Borough Register—the repetition arising from the possession of more than one qualification—an event not only possible, but of frequent occurrence. But a plurality of qualifications, does not confer a plurality of votes for the *same* County or Borough. A plurality of qualifications, however, in distinct Counties or Boroughs, does confer a vote in each of the Counties or Boroughs. It is supposable, therefore, that the same person, A, might have as many County votes as there are county divisions in England, but as the polling for Counties is now confined to a single day, he could hardly exercise his franchise in more than three or four contiguous counties.

It very frequently happens that the same person has both a County and Borough Vote in his own county—and the occurrence

of these duplicate qualifications in the same person—and the occurrence of the same name under different qualifications in the same Borough or County Register—represent a very important deduction as regards *persons* for the Total number of Voters *nominally* entitled to Votes.

Of the 920,000 County and Borough Voters appearing on the face of Table (A), it is certain that a considerable per centage represents persons having duplicate or triplicate qualifications. The commonest case of duplicate qualification is the possession of a Borough and County Vote in the same county by one person. The next most numerous class of cases is the possession of votes in two or more contiguous County Divisions. Besides these duplicate and triplicate qualifications for different places, there are the joint qualifications for the same place. It appears from Table (C), that the Joint qualifications in Counties were in 1853-4 as many as 10,515, or equal to rather more than 2 *per cent.* on the Total number of 479,000 Registered County Voters. We find from Table (D), that in 1846-7, the Joint Qualifications in Boroughs were 14,428, or rather more than 4 *per cent.* on the Total Number of 342,000 Registered Borough Voters.

TABLE C.

COUNTY ELECTORS.—*England and Wales—1846-7 and 1853-4.—Total Number of County Elections in 1846-7 and 1843-4, according to the leading Qualifications prescribed by the Reform Act of 1832.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Qualifications for County Votes.	ENGLAND.		WALES.		
	'53-4.	'46-7.	'53-4.	'46-7.	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Freeholders	315,196	316,908	21,925	20,362	
Copyholders	24,622	25,706	142	173	
Fee Farm Rents and Land Tax ...	525	....	3	....
Annuities and Rent Charges.....	5,898	....	553	....
	346,241	342,614	22,623	20,535	
Leaseholders	21,866	21,517	6,704	7,450	
Occupying Tenants	97,947	100,008	8,513	8,787	
	119,813	121,525	15,217	16,237	
Offices, Holders of	1,519	2,276	96	108	
Joint Qualifications	10,515	8,604	463	766	
Other Qualifications	1,433	439	59	48	
	13,467	11,319	618	922	
Total Votes	479,521	475,458	38,458	37,694	

Note.—As regards County Votes, Overseers give notice on each 20 *June*, that persons claiming must send in claims before 20 *July*. On 31 *July*, the Overseer puts up Lists of present Voters and of new claims. On 29 *August*, the Overseer puts up Lists of Claimants objected to. In September and October, the Revising Barristers hold their Courts for Revising the Lists.

As a general result, I am led, after some investigation, to conclude that the *Total Number* of 920,000 Registered County and Borough Votes in England and Wales must *be reduced* by not less than 6 *per cent.*, in order to arrive at the Total Number of *Persons*; that is to say, that a deduction of say 55,000 must be made, leaving 865,000 as the real number of Adult Males endowed with the franchise.

The preceding Table (C) gives the details of the *County Registers* in 1846-7 and 1853-4.

IV.—*Borough Voters. Old and New Suffrage.*

In Cities and Boroughs the existing qualifications are obviously divisible as regards all the places *retained* by the Reform Act into the *Old Suffrage* and the *New Suffrage*—meaning by Old Suffrage, the right of voting possessed under former charters by freemen, burgess tenants, scot and lot bearers, potwallers, office holders, &c.—and by New Suffrage, the right of voting conferred by the single and complete qualification of occupying a house or other premises at the *bonâ fide* yearly rent of not less than 10*l.*

It was the original intention of the framers of the Reform Bill to withdraw the Borough Suffrage altogether, or nearly so, from the Old Voters, on the ground that they had been found by long experience to be exceedingly prone to regard the franchise as something to be made the instrument of gross personal advantage—that they had been found grievously deficient both in intelligence and independence—and that as a general rule their habits and position in life were incompatible with the due exercise of so important a public function as the choice of representatives.

The Old Voters, however, were sufficiently vigilant to defeat this original intention; and after protracted discussions, a compromise was adopted, in pursuance of which the Old Voters—duly qualified as such at the date (7th June, 1832,) of the passing of the Reform Act—were confirmed in the possession of their franchise *during the remainder of their Lives*, subject to certain conditions of registration and residence, and subject also to future changes in the constitution of the House of Commons. The suffrage was also reserved to future freemen, becoming such by *birth or servitude*, in the several boroughs recognizing a franchise founded on these grounds.* Formerly Freemen could be wholly non-resident within or near the Borough to which they belonged—and one of the greatest abuses of the old system was the conveyance during contested elections of non-resident freemen from long distances. Since 1832 all freemen (and the term freemen may be conveniently used to typify the Old Suffrage Voters) must reside for six months within their respective Boroughs, or within seven miles thereof, prior to the 31st July in each year, in order to entitle them to be placed on the Register of that year—and if from non-residence or otherwise (certain exceptional cases being allowed), a freeman omit to sustain his name on the Register for two successive years, his qualification as a freeman is wholly lost.

It follows, therefore, that since 1832 the Freemen have been in gradual process of diminution.

* The scheme of 1854 proposed to abolish all future votes acquired by birth or servitude, reserving the rights of existing freemen.

The New Suffrage—that is the, qualification obtained by occupying a house or premises of the yearly rent of 10*l.* or more—requires residence and registration in the same manner as the Old Suffrage. Recent Acts have made provision for securing Votes to the occupiers of part of a house, provided the yearly rent of the part occupied be 10*l.* or more; and under Acts known as Compound Householder's Acts, the New Suffrage in several Boroughs has been moderately extended.

The following Table (D) gives the Borough Votes in England and Wales in 1846-7 :—

TABLE D.
BOROUGH ELECTORS.—*England and Wales—1846-7.—Statement of the Total Number of Electors under each of the leading Qualifications prescribed by the Reform Bill of 1832.*

Qualifications for Borough Votes,	1846-7.	
	England.	Wales.
Freemen, Burgesses, and Liverymen	No 46,627	No. 2,357
Freeholders and Burgess Tenants	3,653	152
	50,280	2,509
Scot and Lot Voters	7,175	526
Potwallers	2,597	....
	60,052	3,035
Corporate and other Offices	11	19
	60,063	3,054
Joint Qualifications	14,428	369
	74,491	3,423
Other Qualifications	2,222	4
Old Suffrage.....	76,713	3,427
House Qualifications :—£10, and not exceeding £15 ...	88,462	3,577
" £15 " £20	44,604	1,286
" £20 " £25	28,879	862
	161,945	5,725
" £25 " £30	23,069	576
" £30 " £40	30,313	669
	215,327	6,970
" £40 " £50	19,672	407
" £50 " £70	20,671	1,321
" £70 " £100	14,584	170
Exceeding £100	19,797	299
New Suffrage	290,051	8,167
Old and New Suffrage.....	366,764	11,594

The revision of the Registers of Voters takes place from July to October, and remains in force for twelve months. Hence each Register runs over part of two calendar years, as, for example, 1846-7 above.

The general results of this Table (D), indicate the Total Number of 367,000 Borough Votes in England as including 21 *per cent.* of Old Suffrage Votes—24 *per cent.* of New Suffrage Votes derived from Houses of 10*l.*, and not exceeding 15*l.* each. In a few words, therefore, very nearly half the Borough franchise rests with the Freemen and the holders of the Smallest class of parliamentary houses. And it appears further, that the Houses not exceeding 20*l.*, furnish very nearly one-half of the whole of the New Suffrage Votes.

V.—Territorial Distribution of Members and Electors—Eleven Groups of Counties and of Boroughs therein.

We have now seen something of the general character of the facts relative to the County and Borough Suffrage at the present time, when the subject is considered in its simplest form: that is to say, with reference merely to England and Wales as a *whole*, and without any attempt to arrive at sound and equitable views regarding the Territorial distribution of the Suffrage, and of the number of Members returned.

But the questions relating to the Territorial Distribution of the Suffrage, and the numerical proportion of Members to Voters are certainly as important, and much more difficult than those questions which relate merely to the magnitude of the entire body of electors.

After considerable investigation, it seems to me that for the present purpose we may with fairness and advantage divide the Counties of England and Wales into Eleven Groups, as enumerated in the following Table (E).

The classification has proceeded, not merely on the principle of topographical contiguity,—contiguity has been adopted as the groundwork, but similarity of industrial conditions has been attended to as far as seemed to be possible. For instance, in the Eastern Group (IV) eight counties have been included, not so much because they are all more or less in the eastern part of England, as because they constitute as it were the great block of rich land which forms the natural wheat region of the country.

The columns in the Table (E) which indicate (col. 3) the Decennial progress of Population since 1831—and (col. 8) the average annual value per acre as assessed to Poor Rate in 1849-50—will suggest ready tests of the relative wealth and relative votes of progress of the several Regions.

The total population (*persons*) of England and Wales was 13,100,000 in 1831:—15,900,000 in 1841:—and 17,900,000 in 1851. The two rates of *decennial* increase were, therefore, 14 and 13 *per cent.*, say 27 *per cent.*, in the twenty years 1831-51.

TABLE E.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.—*England and Wales.*—Counties apportioned into Eleven Groups, according to a principle of Territorial and Industrial similarity.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Population. (Persons.)			Groups of Counties.	Area in Statute	Annual Value of Property assessed to		
Census	No.	Increase in 10 Years.			Income Tax, '50-1.	Poor Rate, '49-50.	Poor Rate value, equal
		Per Cent.					
			(I.) METROPOLITAN.		£	£	Per Acre £
1831	1,655,	....	London City, Westminster, and Middlesex, and adjacent parts of Surrey and Kent}	193,	15,764,	8,990,	46·60
1841	1,948,	17·7					
1851	2,362,	21·2					
			(II.) SOUTH EASTERN.				
1831	1,142,	....	Kent (<i>ex Met.</i>), Surrey (<i>ex</i> <i>Met.</i>), Sussex, Hants.....}	3,918,	9,567,	7,110,	1·78
1841	1,283,	12·3					
1851	1,423,	10·9					
			(III.) SOUTH MIDLAND.				
1831	863,	....	Berks, Herts, Bucks, Oxon,} Northampton, Beds	2,685,	5,597,	4,331,	1·61
1841	943,	9·2					
1851	1,007,	6·7					
			(IV.) EASTERN.				
1831	1,711,	....	Hunts, Camb., Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Rutland, Lincoln,} York, East Riding	6,754,	12,591,	9,739,	1·44
1841	1,850,	8·1					
1851	2,046,	10·6					
			(V.) SOUTH-WESTERN.				
1831	1,435,	....	Wells, Dorset, Devon, Corn- wall, Somerset.....}	5,074,	9,634,	6,922,	1·42
1841	1,562,	8·8					
1851	1,633,	4·5					
			(VI.) WEST MIDLAND.				
1831	1,341,	....	Gloucester, Hereford, Salop,} Stafford, Worcester, Mon- mouth	3,364,	8,874,	6,776,	2·01
1841	1,526,	13·8					
1851	1,688,	10·6					
			(VII.) MIDLAND.				
1831	995,	....	Warwick, Leicester, Derby,} Notts	2,261,	6,992,	4,694,	2·07
1841	1,138,	14·3					
1851	1,271,	11·7					
			(VIII.) NORTH-WESTERN.				
1831	2,654,	....	Chester, Lancaster, York, West Riding	3,634,	14,792,	11,209,	3·09
1841	3,225,	21·5					
1851	3,811,	18·1					
			(IX.) NORTHERN.				
1831	893,	....	Durham, Northumberland,} Cumberland, Westmoreland, York, North Riding	4,707,	7,009,	5,095,	1·08
1841	1,011,	13·2					
1851	1,161,	14·8					
			England	32,590,	90,820,	64,866,	1·98

TABLE E.—*Continued.*
 PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.—*England and Wales.*

Population. (Persons.)			Groups of Counties.	Area in Statute	Annual Value of Property assessed to		
Census	No.	Increase in 10 Years.			Income Tax, '50-1.	Poor Rate, '45-50.	Poor Rate value, equal
		Per Cent.		Acres.	£	£	Per Acre £
1831	426,	....	(X.) SOUTH WALES.				
1841	495,	16·2	Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pem-	2,729,	2,184,	1,658,	0·61
1851	578,	16·7	broke, Cardigan, Brecknock, Radnor				
1831	358,	....	(XI.) NORTH WALES.				
1841	394,	10·0	Monmouth, Flint, Denbigh,	2,001,	1,799,	1,210,	0·60
1851	409,	3·8	Merioneth, Carnarvon, An- glesea				
<i>England and Wales....</i>				37,320,	94,803,	67,754,	1·81

Note.—In all the columns, except the *per-centage* cols. 3 and 8, the three figures at the unit end are omitted—thus, 1,655, represents 1,655,000.

Col. 8 gives the average annual value of each acre as ascertained for the purposes of Poor Rate assessment in 1849-50. Thus, in group 2, the average annual value per acre was £1·78 (say £1 16s.), while, in group 8, it was £3·09 (say £3 2s.)

VI.—*General results of the detailed Statements (Q) in the Appendix— Counties and Boroughs.*

In the first Table in the Appendix, marked (Q), I have given a detail of all the County Divisions; and all the Boroughs in each Division arranged according to the Territorial Groups here set forth in Table (E)—and in the Table (Q) now referred to, it has been sought to include from the most recent returns available (namely, the returns for the years 1851-2 as regards Boroughs, and 1853-4 as regards Counties), all the elements necessary for ascertaining with precision the electoral circumstances of each constituency.

Of the details in (Q), the two following Tables (F) and (G) are Summaries.

The Table (F) relates to the County Divisions, and by means of the two test cols. (5) and (7), indicates at once the proportion of County Voters to *County* Population in the several Groups—and the proportion of Tenant Voters to the whole number of Electors in each County Constituency.

TABLE F.
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS, 1851-2.—County Divisions.—*England and Wales.—Counties divided into Groups.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Population, (Persons) 1851.	County Divisions.	Mem- bers.	Total Electors on Register,		£50 (and upwards) Tenants Electors,	
			In '51-2.	Equal on Popln. to	In '53-4.	Equal on Total Electors to
No.		No.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
283,000	(I.) METROPOLITAN. Middlesex	2	14,610	5'0	1,386	10'0
1,056,000	(II.) SO.-EASTERN. 4 Cos., 9 Divns.	17	46,523	4'3	8,059	17'2
808,000	(III.) SO.-MIDLAND. 6 Cos., 7 Divns.	18	34,235	4'2	7,507	21'9
1,647,000	(IV.) EASTERN. 8 Cos., 12 Divns.	25	77,765	4'7	18,276	23'5
1,298,000	(V.) SO.-WESTERN. 5 Cos., 9 Divns.	19	60,147	4'6	13,908	23'1
1,162,600	(VI.) WEST-MIDL. 6 Cos., 10 Divns.	21	66,954	5'8	12,614	18'8
771,000	(VII.) MIDLAND. 4 Cos., 8 Divns.	16	40,421	5'2	8,105	20'0
1,961,000	(VIII.) NO.-WESTN. 3 Cos., 5 Divns.	10	86,423	4'4	15,997	18'3
783,000	(IX.) NORTHERN. 5 Cos., 8 Divns.	16	45,603	5'8	12,095	26'5
9,769,000		144	472,681	4'8	97,947	20'8
395,600	(X.) SOUTH WALES. 6 Cos., 6 Divns.	8	21,163	5'3	4,201	19'8
324,000	(XI.) NORTH WALES. 6 Cos., 6 Divns.	7	15,295	4'6	4,312	28'1
10,488,000		159	509,139	4'8	106,460	20'8

Note.—This table (F) may be read thus, viz.:—The South-Eastern Group of Counties contained (col. 1) 1,056,000 persons, in 1851, in those parts of the various County divisions *not* reckoned within the limits of any parliamentary borough. The county members returned were 17, as by 46,523 electors on register in 1851-2; and of these 46,523 electors, as many as 8,059 (col. 6), or 17'2 per cent. (col. 7), were 50L. &c., tenants at will. The total electors constituted 4'3 per cent. (col. 5) of the total population.

In this Table (F), as in all the others, I have massed together the 25 Counties composing the four Groups distinguished as the South-Midland, Eastern, South-Western, and West-Midland. These

25 Counties seem to represent, not unfairly or unduly, a greatly preponderating part of the Landed and Agricultural interests—as distinguished from the interests of Manufactures as found in the North-Western Group—or from the preponderating interests of Large Towns, as found in some of the other Groups.

So far as the facts in Table (F) are concerned, it appears very plainly, that in connexion with the Representation and the Constituencies of Counties, the Four Agricultural Groups have, when compared with the remaining seven Groups:—(1) a larger proportion of Members to Electors; (2) a somewhat smaller proportion of Electors to Population; and (3) a larger proportion of Tenant Voters to the Total Number of Voters.

The next Table (G) contains a similar summary for the *Boroughs* in the several Groups.

TABLE G.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS.—Boroughs.—*England and Wales*.—*Electors on Register in 1851-2*.—*Houses of £10, &c., and Houses Rated to Poor.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Population, (Persons) 1851.	DIVISIONS.	Mem- bers.	TOTAL ELECTORS.			HOUSES.			Electors equal on Total Popula- tion to
			On Register, in '51-2.	Composed of		Value £10 and upwards.		Total Rated to Poor.	
				Free- men.	£10 House.	In '51-2.	Propor- tion		
No.		No.	No.	Pr. cnt.		No.	Pr. cnt.	No.	Pr. cnt.
2,027,000	(I.) METROPOLITAN. 7 Boros.	16	126,469	7'0	93'0	117,437	44'1	265,322	6'2
....	(Ia.) UNIVERSITIES. Oxfrd. & Camb.	4	7,537	....	....	....	....	....	....
560,000	(II.) SOUTH-EASTN. 27 Boros.....	45	35,319	11'3	88'7	31,074	32'6	95,386	6'2
198,000	(III.) SOUTH-MIDL. 16 Boros.....	28	13,860	23'0	77'0	10,533	31'3	32,557	7'0
402,000	(IV.) EASTERN. 19 Boros.....	36	26,876	32'9	67'1	18,075	23'0	77,779	6'7
489,000	(V.) SOUTH-WESTN. 38 Boros.....	62	26,762	5'6	94'4	25,208	34'2	73,398	5'5
706,000	(VI.) WEST-MIDL. 26 Boros.....	45	40,427	22'3	77'7	31,404	24'0	129,122	5'8
496,000	(VII.) MIDLAND. 8 Boros.	16	28,299	34'0	66'0	18,678	17'0	106,807	5'7
1,841,000	(VIII.) NORTH-WEST. 26 Boros.....	44	72,320	7'6	92'4	66,840	19'5	342,457	3'8
428,000	(IX.) NORTHERN. 19 Boros.....	29	21,309	27'3	72'7	15,546	25'4	59,719	5'0
7,147,000		235	399,178	16'1	83'9	334,795	28'5	1,182,547	5'6

TABLE G.—Continued.
 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS.—Boroughs.—*England and Wales.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Population, (Persons) 1851.	DIVISIONS.	Mem- bers.	TOTAL ELECTORS.			HOUSES.			Electors equal on Total Popula- tion to
			On Register, in '51-2.	Composed of		Value £10 and upwards.		Total Rated to Poor.	
				Free- men.	£10 House	In '51-2.	Propor- tion.		
No.	(X.) SOUTH-WALES. 9 Boros.	No.	No.	Pr. cnt.		No.	Pr. cnt.	No.	Pr. cnt.
198,000		9	7,751	23·4	76·6	5,948	18·8	32,200	3·8
88,000	(XI.) NORTH-WALES. 5 Boros.	5	4,000	17·5	82·5	3,285	17·6	16,728	4·5
7,433,000		339	410,929	16·2	83·8	344,028	28·4	1,231,475	5·5

Note.—This table (G) may be read thus:—The South-Eastern Group of Counties contains 27 parliamentary boroughs, the total population of which, in 1851, was 560,000 persons. The members returned are 45 in number. There were, in 1851-2, 35,319 electors on register, of whom 31,074 (or 88·7 per cent.) were 10l., &c., householders, and 11·3 per cent. (or 4,345) were freemen, &c., of the old qualification. There were 95,386 rated to the poor, and of these houses 31,074 (or 32·6 per cent.) were of 10l. or upwards. Finally, the registered electors were equal to 6·2 per cent. on the total population.

In this Table (G) we find in the Four Agricultural Groups:—
 (1) That the higher proportion of Borough Members to Borough Voters is even more marked than in Table (F) relating to Counties;
 (2) that the proportion (col. 5) of Freemen in the Borough Constituencies is about one-fourth,—a proportion materially less than in the Northern Group—but materially more than in the North-Western Group;
 (3) that the proportion (col. 8) of 10l., &c., houses to the total number of houses is about one-third, or considerably higher than in most of the other Groups; and
 (4) that the proportion of Electors to Population is also higher than in the other Groups.

The larger proportion of 10l. houses would seem to indicate a Borough Population in the Four Agricultural Groups of a better standing than in the other parts of the Kingdom.

VII.—*Progress of the County Constituencies 1837-8—1852-3.*

But it is as important and interesting a question to ascertain the progress of the County and Borough Electoral Bodies during the quarter of a century which has elapsed since the Reform Bill, as it is to ascertain the present magnitude and distribution of the order of persons entitled to Vote.

In the two following Tables (H) and (I), I have endeavoured to state the number of the County and Borough Voters in the Groups of Counties, at three dates since 1832, namely: (1) in the registration year (July to July) 1837-8; (2) in the registration year 1846-7; and (3) in the corresponding year 1852-3. By selecting 1837-8 as the first date, it is probable that we bring into view the

full force of the electoral classes created by the Reform Act; that is to say, the three or four years which had then elapsed since 1832, had permitted the different parties to put forth their strength in the revision of the Register.

I shall not be able to insert in this number of the *Journal* the detailed Table of which (H) and (I) are the Summaries; but I hope to insert it in the next *Journal*; and as it has been framed with some care from a variety of authentic sources, it will, perhaps, prove to be a document of some interest, as showing the progress of each County and Borough Constituency since 1832.

The following Table (H) relates to the County Divisions:—

TABLE H.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS 1837-8, 1846-7, and 1852-3.—County Divisions—*England and Wales—with the Number of £50, &c., Tenant-at-Will Voters.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Counties.		Members Re- turnd.	GROUPS OF COUNTY DIVISIONS.	Total Electors on Register.			£50 or Tenant Voters.		
Whole Counties.	Conty. Divi- sions.			'52-3.	'46-7.	'37-8.	'52-3.	'46-7.	'37-8.
No. 1	No. 1	No. 2	(I.) METROPOLITAN...	No. 15,081	No. 10,418	No. 12,817	No. 1,386	No. 1,317	No. 1,292
4	9	17	(II.) SOUTH-EASTERN	46,523	46,652	42,805	7,916	7,319	6,687
6	7	18	(III.) SOUTH MIDLAND.	34,235	35,147	35,604	7,507	7,354	7,390
8	12	25	(IV.) EASTERN	77,785	79,053	71,887	18,719	19,216	18,280
5	9	19	(V.) SOUTH-WESTERN	60,227	62,775	61,640	13,917	14,130	14,060
6	10	21	(VI.) WEST MIDLAND	67,134	65,108	62,724	12,614	13,511	13,175
25	38	83		239,381	242,083	231,855	52,757	54,211	52,905
4	8	16	(VII.) MIDLAND	40,421	40,537	39,146	8,105	8,573	8,527
3	5	10	(VIII.) NO.-WESTERN	86,423	87,564	69,332	15,997	16,707	16,296
5	8	16	(IX.) NORTHERN	45,003	45,929	43,635	12,095	11,848	13,191
42	69	144		473,432	473,183	439,590	98,256	99,975	98,898
6	6	8	SOUTH WALES	21,163	21,284	19,398	4,201	4,206	4,531
6	6	7	NORTH WALES	15,295	16,056	14,514	4,312	4,581	4,454
12	12	15		36,458	37,340	33,912	8,513	8,787	8,985
54	81	159		509,890	510,523	473,502	106,769	108,762	107,883

Note.—The *Total Number of Electors on the Register*, is shown in cols. 5, 6, and 7. And as *included* in those Totals, the number of Occupant Voters is given in cols. 8, 9, and 10. Yorkshire is reckoned as three counties, hence the 54 counties.

The most striking feature on the face of this statement (H) of the County Electors, is the stationary, or declining character, of the Tenant Voters. In the whole of England the number of Tenant County Voters is 98,256 in 1852-3, against 98,898 in 1837-8, and the decline in some of the Groups is remarkable.

In the Four Agricultural Groups, there is a decline of 2,700 votes in the Total County Constituency between 1846-7 and 1852-3, and an increase of only 7,500 votes between 1837-8 and 1852-3.

In the Midland Group, the increase is only 1,300 votes in the twenty years.

The most marked cases of increase are in the Metropolitan, the South-Eastern, and the North-Western Groups.

But as a general result of these figures (H), it appears that 83 out of the 144 County Members allotted to England, have been returned since 1832 by County Constituencies, which in two of the Groups (the Eastern and South-Western) have positively declined in numbers; and taking the Four Groups together, have increased only 3 per cent., while the present population of the County has increased nearly 30 per cent.

VIII.—*Progress of the Borough Constituencies, 1837-8—1852-3.*

The next Table (I) relates to the Borough Constituencies.

As might be expected, we find from this statement (I) a rapid diminution of the Old Suffrage Voters. In England and Wales the falling off between 1837-8 and 1852-3 is one-fourth, or from (say) 80,000 to 60,000.

In the Four Agricultural Groups we find almost the same facts as we have found in Table (H) relative to County Voters.

In three out of the four of these Groups—namely, the South-Midland, the Eastern, and South-Midland—the Total Borough Constituency in 1852-3 is 67,000 Voters, against 63,000 in 1837-8—or an increase of 6 per cent. But from these three Groups are sent 116 out of the 322 Borough Members allotted to the whole of England.

The increase between 1837-8 and 1852-3 in the Total Borough Constituency of the Four Agricultural Groups, is from 97,000 to 108,000, or nearly 12 per cent. The Four Groups send 171 Borough Members out of 321, or considerably more than one-half.

The Total Borough Constituency of the Five Remaining English Groups, increased between 1837-8 and 1852-3 from 213,000 to 284,000 Voters, or nearly 30 per cent.; and by this total constituency the remaining 150 English Borough Members have been returned.

TABLE I.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS 1837-8, 1846-7, and 1852-3.—Boroughs—*England and Wales—with the Number of Freemen and Burgess Voters.*

1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Counties.		Mem- bers Re- trnd.	Boroughs IN GROUPS OF COUNTY DIVISIONS.	Total Electors on Register.			Freemen and Burgess, &c., Voters.			
Count- ties.	Boros.			'52-3.	'46-7.	'37-8.	'52-3.	'46-7.	'37-8.	
No. 1	No. 7	No. 16	(I.) METROPOLITAN...	No. 126,469	No. 106,834	No. 86,521	No. 9,032	No. 10,353	No. 16,191	
4	27	45	(II.) SOUTH-EASTERN	35,319	31,341	26,049	4,245	5,162	6,199	
6	16	28	(III.) SOUTH MIDLAND	13,860	13,468	13,308	3,327	4,106	5,034	
8	19	36	(IV.) EASTERN	26,876	27,152	23,091	8,801	10,908	9,515	
5	38	62	(V.) SOUTH-WESTERN	26,762	28,346	26,171	1,754	2,574	3,626	
6	26	45	(VI.) WEST MIDLAND	40,428	38,111	34,666	9,024	11,202	10,828	
25	99	171		107,926	107,077	97,236	22,906	28,790	29,003	
4	8	16	(VII.) MIDLAND	28,299	27,377	25,057	9,621	10,793	9,651	
8	26	44	(VIII.) NORTH-WESTERN	73,320	67,956	57,495	6,480	7,729	8,552	
5	19	29	(IX.) NORTHERN	21,809	20,468	17,357	5,763	6,433	5,489	
42	186	321		392,642	361,053	309,715	58,047	69,259	75,085	
6	9	9	(X.) SOUTH WALES ...	7,751	7,319	7,120	1,803	2,026	2,841	
6	5	5	(XI.) NORTH WALES..	4,000	3,886	4,534	715	1,004	1,681	
12	14	14		11,751	11,205	11,654	2,518	3,030	4,522	
54	200	335		404,393	372,258	321,369	60,365	72,289	79,607	

Note.—The Total Number of Electors on Register is given in cols. 5, 6, and 7; and as *part* of these Totals the Number of Old Qualification Voters in cols. 8, 9, and 10. To the Total of 335, representing the Number of Members returned, there should be added 4 Members for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, making in all, for England and Wales, 339 Members from 200 Boroughs and the two Universities. Yorkshire is reckoned as three counties, hence the 54 counties.

The large number of Old Suffrage Voters in the *Midland Group* arises from the large number of those voters in the three towns of Coventry, Derby, and Leicester. In like manner the large number of Old Voters in the *West Midland Group* includes 4,000 such Voters at Bristol.

We shall be able, however, by means of the following statement (J), to trace with great ease the progress of the constituencies in the several Groups. We have in (J) a statement of the number of County and Borough *Electors*, and County and Borough *Members* of each of the three periods since 1832 to each.

TABLE J.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS, 1837-8, 1846-7, 1852-3.—*Counties and Boroughs.—*
Number of Electors to each Member returned at each of the three periods.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Members.		GROUPS.	County Electors to each County Member.			Borough Electors to each Borough Member.		
County.	Boros.		'52-3.	'46-7.	'37-8.	'52-3.	'46-7.	'37-8.
No. 2	No. 16		No. 7,540	No. 5,200	No. 6,400	No. 7,900	No. 6,670	No. 5,420
....	16	(I.) METROPOLITAN <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....
17	....	(II.) SOUTH-EASTN <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	2,730	2,750	2,520	780	700	580
....	45		....	....	....	....	....	....
18	....	(III.) SOUTH-MDLD <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	1,900	1,950	1,980	490	480	470
....	28		....	....	....	....	....	....
25	....	(IV.) EASTERN <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	3,110	3,160	2,870	750	750	640
....	36		....	....	....	....	....	....
19	....	(V.) SOUTH-WESTN <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	3,170	3,300	3,240	430	460	420
....	62		....	....	....	....	....	....
21	....	(VI.) WEST-MIDL D <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	3,200	3,100	2,990	890	850	770
....	45		....	....	....	....	....	....
83	171		2,880	2,920	2,790	630	630	570
16	....	(VII.) MIDLAND.... <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	2,530	2,530	2,450	1,770	1,710	1,570
....	16		....	....	....	....	....	....
10	....	(VIII.) NO.-WESTN <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	8,640	8,750	6,930	1,670	1,540	1,310
....	44		....	....	....	....	....	....
16	....	(IX.) NORTHERN.... <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	2,850	2,870	2,730	730	700	600
....	29		....	....	....	....	....	....
144	321		3,280	3,290	3,050	1,220	1,120	960
8	....	(X.) SOUTH WALES <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	2,640	2,660	2,420	860	810	790
....	9		....	....	....	....	....	....
7	....	(XI.) NO. WALES <i>Cos.</i> <i>Boros.</i>	2,180	2,290	2,070	800	780	910
....	5		....	....	....	....	....	....
15	14		2,430	2,490	2,260	840	800	830
159	335		3,207	3,210	2,980	1,210	1,110	960

Note.—This Table (J) may be read thus:—In the South-Eastern Group in the *County Divisions*, in 1837-8, there were 2,520 *County Electors* to each *County Member*; and in 1852-3 the number had risen to 2,730. In the same Group, in 1837-8, there were 580 *Borough Electors* to each *Borough Member*; and in 1852-3 there were 780 *Electors*.

IX.—*Inhabited Houses in proportion to the Adult Male Population.*

In 1849 Mr. Poulet Scrope obtained a Parliamentary Return giving for each of the Four Counties of Lancashire, Suffolk, Hampshire, and Gloucester, very elaborate statistics of the number of assessments made to Poor Rate—of the Annual Value of the Premises assessed—and of the Number of Cases in which payment of Poor Rate was excused on the ground of poverty.

In the Appendix (Table V) I give a somewhat detailed abstract of the results of Mr. Scrope's voluminous Paper.

The information conveyed by that Paper is valuable for many reasons. In the first place, its careful classification of Annual Values in each of the four counties, enables us to form some approximate notion of the Total Number of Houses throughout England and Wales, under the same classes of Annual Value. In the second place, the four Counties included in the actual analysis of 1849, are in many respects a fair average of the whole of England and Wales, and may be adopted, therefore, with tolerable safety as an index for the whole of that part of the Island embraced in this enquiry. And in the third place, the proportion of Excusals for poverty under the several gradations of Rents, will indicate very clearly the limit of rent which, as a general rule, separates the dependent from the independent portions of the Working Classes.

Before seeking to apply the data obtained from Mr. Scrope's return, it is necessary to satisfy ourselves as to the proportion of Adult Males in each of the Four Selected Counties, compared with the Total Population of all ages. The facts bearing on this point are given in the following Table (K), and the Metropolis has been included.

TABLE K.

Ages under and above 20 Years.—Metropolis and Four Selected Counties, 1851—with the Per-Centage Proportions of the Ages of the Total Population.

1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Total Population. Persons.—All Ages.			COUNTIES, &c.	Under 20.				ADULTS, 20 AND ABOVE.			
Males.	Females.	Total.		Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.	
No.	No.	No.			Per Ct.		Per Ct.		Per Ct.		Per Ct.
1,106,	1,255,	2,362,	{ LONDON, (City and Environ)	474,	20·0	493,	20·8	632,	26·7	762,	28·8
1,008,	1,058,	2,067,	LANCASHIRE	469,	22·3	474,	22·8	539,	26·2	584,	28·1
166,	170,	336,	SUFFOLK.....	78,	23·2	77,	22·9	87,	25·9	93,	27·6
200,	202,	402,	HAMPSHIRE	91,	22·7	89,	22·2	109,	27·2	113,	28·2
198,	221,	419,	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	91,	21·7	92,	21·9	107,	25·5	129,	30·8
2,678,	2,906,	5,586,	Rest of England & Wales	1,203,	21·5	1,225,	21·8	1,474,	26·3	1,681,	30·1
6,103,	6,240,	12,341,		2,861,	23·1	2,821,	22·8	3,243,	26·2	3,418,	27·6
8,781,	9,146,	17,927,		4,064,	22·6	4,046,	22·5	4,717,	26·3	5,099,	28·4

Note.—The three unit figures are omitted—thus, 1,106, represents 1,106,000.

The table may be read thus :—In Lancashire the males under 20 (col. 5) were 469,000, or 22·3 per cent. (col. 6), on the Total Population of Lancashire in 1851, viz., 2,067,000 persons (col. 3); and in like manner for the other cols.

It appears that the Adult Males are most numerous in Hampshire (27·2 per cent.)—then in the Metropolis (26·7 per cent.)—then in Lancashire (26·2 per cent.)—and that Suffolk and Gloucester are at the bottom of the scale.

There is still another preliminary enquiry, and it relates to the proportion borne by the Dwelling Houses assessed to the Poor in the Four Selected Counties in 1848-9, to the Total Number of Inhabited Houses returned by the Census of 1851, and the facts are given in the following Table (L).

We find, of course, that the number Assessed is *less* than the Number Inhabited, in consequence of many of the poorest tenements escaping the parish tax-gatherer, or being compounded for by the landlord. As the general result, it appears (col. 5) that the Dwelling Houses assessed are 90 per cent. of the Houses Inhabited.

In the Four Selected Counties we have before us, a *sixth* part of all the Inhabited Houses in England—an *eighth* part of its area—and a *sixth* part of the total annual amount of real property assessed to Poor Rate. The Counties, therefore, upon which we are able to base whatever inferential conclusions we may draw, cannot be said to be in any sense an insignificant part of the total area as regards which they are employed as the foundation of certain averages.

The following is Table (L) :—

TABLE L.

ENGLAND AND WALES.—Four Selected Counties—Lancashire, Suffolk, Hants, and Gloucestershire.—Area, Dwelling Houses, and Annual value Assessed to Income Tax and Poor Rate.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Area.	COUNTY.	Dwelling Houses.			Houses.		Annual Value of	
		Inhabited, 1851.	Assessed to Poor, '48-9.		Vacant.	Building.	Real Property Ass'd to Income Tax, '50-1.	Property assessed to Poor Rate, '49-50.
Sq. miles No.		No.	No.	Per cent	No.	No.	£ Value.	£ Value.
1,905,	LANCASTER	350,000	340,000	94·3	17,420	3,463	8·64	6·61
1,481,	SUFFOLK	69,280	59,060	85·5	3,107	450	1·83	1·36
1,672,	HAMPSHIRE	75,240	59,760	80·0	3,543	613	1·82	1·45
1,258,	GLOUCESTER	86,360	67,870	80·0	5,318	441	2·23	1·96
1,563,	<i>Average</i>	145,000	131,600	90·0	7,350	1,240	3·63	2·84
6,316,	Total of above...	580,880	526,690	90·0	29,388	4,967	14·52	11·38
44,606,	Rest of England	2,496,000	Not given.	Not given.	115,112	20,225	76·30	53·44
50,922,	England	3,076,880	....	....	144,500	25,192	90·82	64·82
7,398,	WALES	201,420	....	....	9,000	1,380	3·98	2·87
58,320,	England & Wales	3,278,300	....	....	153,500	26,572	94·80	67·70

Note.—In col. 1, Area, the *three* figures at the unit end are omitted—thus, 1,905 represents 1,905,000 square miles. In cols. 8 and 9, the *four* unit figures are omitted—thus, 8·64 represents 8,640,000.

X.—*Inhabited Houses according to Scales of Rent.*

We must now endeavour to ascertain in what proportion the Total Number of 3,278,000 Inhabited Houses in 1851 in England and Wales is composed of at least three kinds of Houses, namely: (1) Houses under 6*l.*; (2) Houses of 6*l.* and under 10*l.*; and (3) Houses of 10*l.* and upwards.

For this purpose we can only avail ourselves of the ascertained facts of the Four Selected Counties, and extend the ratios which prevail in them to the rest of England and Wales. It does not appear to me at present that this process is likely to lead to conclusions very materially different from what, as far as can be judged, would be the real results of an actual Rent Abstract of the whole country. It is very desirable, however, that a Rent Abstract should be obtained for every County, in a mode as elaborate as is given by Mr. Scrope's paper for the four Selected Counties.

The following then is the Table (M) :—

TABLE M.

ENGLAND AND WALES, 1851.—*Houses in three Classes, viz.: (1) under £6; (2) £6 and under £10; (3) £10 and above;—with Proportions of Excusals from Poor Rate on the ground of Poverty;—the Ratios founded on the ascertained results within the four selected Counties.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Under £6.			£6 and under £10.			£10 and above.			
COUNTIES, &c.	Assessed, '48-9.	Excused, '48-9.		Asses'd. '48-9.	Excused, '48-9.		Asses'd. '48-9.	Excused, '48-9.		
	No.	No.	Per Ct.	No.	No.	Per Ct.	No.	No.	Per Ct.	
LANCASHIRE	174,387	18,292	10·4	75,311	22,263	29·8	119,368	9,122	7·6	
SUFFOLK	49,644	23,384	47·0	5,746	145	...	16,363	14	...	
HAMPSHIRE	32,979	19,060	57·6	11,127	1,830	18·1	21,499	655	4·7	
GLOUCESTER	42,909	13,559	26·0	10,272	1,138	10·0	20,798	148	...	
Per Centage on 587,000, the Total Assessments in the four Counties named	52·3 p.ct.	...	...	17·5 p.ct.	...	...	30·2 p.ct.	...	...
As above	307,000	74,000	24·1	102,000	25,000	24·5	178,000	10,000	5·6	
Rest of the 3,076,000 Inhabited Houses in 1851 in England in same ratio	1,301,660	318,000	24·1	435,000	106,000	24·5	751,000	42,000	5·6	
WALES—201,000 Inha- bited Houses in 1851 in same ratio	1,608,000	387,000	24·1	537,000	131,000	24·5	929,000	52,000	5·6	
Total of 3,278,000 Inha- bited Houses in En- gland and Wales in 1851 in same ratio ...	1,718,000	412,000	24·1	572,000	140,000	24·5	990,000	55,000	5·6	

Note.—In col. 2 the number of *assessments* of premises of all kinds, dwelling-houses included, is employed as, practically, the nearest approach we can now make to the "Inhabited Houses" of the Census, and for the particular purposes of this Table (M) this adjustment is not open to serious objection.

The result of these figures (M) is shortly,—that in the—

Four Selected Counties.

- (1). The Houses *under 6l.* are 52·3 *per cent.* of the Total Number of Houses ; and that the Excusals of Poor Rate by reason of Poverty amount to 24·1 *per cent.* of the whole of this Class.
- (2). The Houses of 6*l.*, and *under 10l.*, are 17·5 *per cent.* of the Total Number of Inhabited Houses ; and the Excusals are 24·5 *per cent.*
- (3). The Houses of 10*l.* and *upwards* are 30·2 *per cent.* of the Total Number ; and the Excusals are 5·6 *per cent.*

We may now frame further the following summary Table :—

England and Wales.—Houses—1851.

Class.	Total.	Excusals.	Per Cent.
(1.) Under £6	1,713,000	412,000	24·1
(2.) £6 and under £10	572,000	140,000	24·5
	2,285,000	552,000	24·5
(3.) £10 and above	990,000	55,000	5·6
	3,275,000	607,000	18·5

We have seen in a former page that the Borough and County Votes in England and Wales are—

England and Wales—(1851-2)—Votes.

Class.	Registered Votes.	Persons. (Estimate.)
County Votes	510,000	480,000
Old Borough Votes	60,000	56,000
New Borough Votes	344,000	324,000
	914,000	860,000

The “Persons” are arrived at by deducting 6 per cent. from the Votes, as explained at page 175 ante, to cover duplicate qualifications.

We may deduce three practical conclusions from these condensed results.

(1). It would seem that a Parliamentary Suffrage, which should really embrace all the 10*l.* Householders, would give a Constituency in England and Wales, in Counties and Boroughs combined, of 990,000 Votes.

(2). At the present time the Registered Votes are, say 914,000 ; but in that number are embraced 60,000 Old Suffrage Borough Votes, a very large portion of which belong to occupants of Houses of less

than 10*l.* Suppose that 40,000 Old Suffrage Votes are held by such occupants—then 874,000 Votes would be held at present in Counties and Boroughs by the class *above* the Freemen—and hence it would appear that an exhaustive 10*l.* qualification would add 116,000 Votes to the present register, and so raise the 874,000 to the 990,000.

(3). Further:—an extension of the Suffrage was to include in Counties and Boroughs all the Householders whose Rents are “6*l.* and under 10*l.*,” would add, say 570,000 Votes in England and Wales beyond the exhaustive 10*l.* limit; that is, would constitute an addition of more than 50 per cent.:—and would raise the 990,000 votes to, say, 1,560,000 votes.

XI.—*Results arising out of the Classification of Houses.*

But upon these 6*l.* Votes as suggested, we are led to examine the details in Table (M) relative to the Excusals under the 6*l.* rents, and under the Rents of *less* than 6*l.*

In the smaller Rents, the Excusals in Suffolk and Hampshire are more than 50 per cent., while the Excusals in Lancashire and Gloucester are under 15 per cent. In the 6*l.* Rents, by far the largest number of Excusals are in Lancashire.

It is clear, however, that in this part of the case there ought to be a full return from every County made up for each of the last two or three years. The present facts are quite insufficient to justify any general conclusion applicable to present circumstances.

There remains, however, another point to be cleared up in connexion with the three Classes of Rents in the Selected Counties, and it relates to the proportion borne by each class of House to the Adult Male Population of each County.

These details are given in the following Table (N); and we may trace in the first per-centage col. (col. 4) very clearly the different industrial conditions of the four counties.

In Suffolk and Gloucestershire more than 50 per cent. of the adult males inhabit houses of less than 6*l.* Rent; and in those Counties, therefore, a 6*l.* qualification would add but few votes to the Register.

In Lancashire and Hampshire about 30 per cent. of the adult males inhabit houses of *less* than 6*l.* rent,—and in the first of these counties a 6*l.* qualification would materially enlarge the Borough registers.

TABLE N.

ADULT MALES AND HOUSES.—*Four Selected Counties, and Rest of England and Wales, with Per-Centages of the Rates of the three classes of Houses in the Adult Male Population.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Adult Males, 20 and above.	COUNTIES, &c.	HOUSES ASSESSED, '48-9.					
		Under £6.		£6 and under £10.		£10 and above.	
		Assessed.	On Adult Males.	Assessed.	On Adult Males.	Assessed.	On Adult Males.
No. 539,000	LANCASHIRE.....	No. 174,300	Pr. ct. 32·2	No. 75,300	Pr. ct. 14·0	No. 119,400	Pr. ct. 22·2
87,000	SUFFOLK	49,600	56·3	5,700	6·5	16,300	18·4
109,000	HAMPSHIRE	33,000	30·2	11,100	10·0	21,500	20·0
107,000	GLO'STERSHIRE	56,000	47·0	10,300	9·3	20,800	20·0
842,000		306,900	35·2	102,000	12·1	178,000	21·1
	Rest of England	1,301,100	....	435,000	....	751,000	....
3,875,000		1,608,000	....	537,000	....	929,000	....
	WALES	105,000	....	35,000	....	61,000	....
4,717,000	England & Wales	1,713,000	38·3	572,000	12·1	990,000	21·0

Note.—This Table may be read thus :—In Lancashire the Adult Males, in 1851, were 539,000. The properties assessed to Poor Rate, in 1848-9 (and for the present purpose *properties* may be taken as *houses*), were 174,300 at rents under 6*l.*, or equal to 32·2 per cent. of the total number of 539,000 of Adult Males. In like manner, the houses, 6*l.* and under 10*l.*, were equal to 14·0 per cent.; and the houses, 10*l.* and above, were equal to 22·2 per cent. of the Total Adult Males in Lancashire.

We may now bring these somewhat intricate investigations to a close.

In the following Table (O) I have sought to collect into a single view, as regards the Four Selected Counties, and (adopting them as a guide) also as regards the whole of England and Wales :—(1) the relation of the *present* suffrage (cols. 3 and 4) to the Adult Male Population of the County Divisions and of the Boroughs; and (2) the relation of the 6*l.* Householders (col. 8) to the Adult Male Population, and to the present Electors.

The general result for the whole of England and Wales seems to be that—

- (1). That a 6*l.* qualification in Counties and Boroughs would give Votes to 33 *per cent.* of the Adult Male Population.
- (2). That the *present* total Constituency (of 914,000) gives votes to 20 *per cent.* of the Adult Male Population.
- (3). That consequently of persons at present possessing a 6*l.* qualification, only one person in 1·7 have Votes.

It appears further from col. 5, that the Proportion of Members

to present Electors varies in *Boroughs* from 1 to 530 in Hants, to 1 to 2,300 in Lancashire; and in *Counties* from 1 to 2,200 in Hants, to 1 to 8,400 in Lancashire.

TABLE O.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS, 1851-2.—*Counties and Boroughs—Four Selected Counties—and Whole of England and Wales—With Cols. of the Adult Males in 1851—Of the Estimated £6 and upwards Householders—and various Cols. of Proportions.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Adult Males, 20 and above.</i>	COUNTIES, as regards Boroughs therein, and COUNTY DIVISIONS.	Members Re-turned.	Electors on Register, '51-2.	Proportion			Estimated £6 and above Householders.		
				Members to Male Adults.	Members to Electors.	Electors to Male Adults.	Voters to Male Adults.	£6 Householders.	Present Electors to £6 Houses.
No.	(i.) BOROUGH.	No.	No.	One Mem. to	One Mem. to	One Elec. to	Pr. ct.	No.	One Elec. to
381,000	Lancashire.....(B.)	22	48,300	18,200	2,300	8·0	36	137,000	2·8
13,570	Suffolk	5	2,900	2,700	600	4·7	25	3,400	1·2
44,310	Hants	14	7,500	3,100	530	6·0	30	13,200	1·7
68,000	Gloucester	11	18,700	6,200	1,700	3·6	29	20,000	1·1
506,880		52	77,400	9,700	1,500	6·5	34	173,600	2·2
	(ii.) CO. DIVISIONS.								
157,500	Lancashire....(C. D.)	4	33,500	39,300	8,400	4·7	36	56,200	1·7
73,400	Suffolk	4	10,700	18,300	2,700	6·8	25	18,300	1·6
64,700	Hants	5	10,950	13,000	2,200	6·0	30	19,200	1·7
39,100	Gloucester	4	16,600	10,000	4,100	2·3	29	14,700	1·0
334,700		17	71,750	19,700	4,200	4·6	32	108,400	1·5
841,580	Totals of the four Counties	69	149,150	12,200	2,200	5·6	33	282,000	1·9
4,717,000	England & Wales	498	914,000	9,500	1,800	5·2	33	1,557,000	1·7

Note.—This Table may be read thus:—In 1851 the Adult Males, in the *Parliamentary Boroughs* in Lancashire, were 381,000. The Electors in 1851-2, in the same *Boroughs*, were 48,300, or (col. 7) equal to 1 Elector to 8·0 Adult Males. The 6l. and above Householders were 36 per cent. of Adult Males, or equal to 137,000; and the actual number of 48,300 Electors gave 1 Elector to 2·8 Adult Male 6l., &c., Householders. In like manner for the other cols. The £14,000 is the number of Electors after allowing for the two Universities.

XII.—*Changes made in 1832, and proposed to be made in 1854.*

In two Statements (R) and (S) in the Appendix, I have given under the several Groups of Counties the changes made in the Representation by the Reform Act of 1832; and the further changes proposed to be made by the Scheme of 1854.

In another Statement (T) I have enumerated all the *Non-Parliamentary* towns at present existing in each County of the several Groups subject to the condition that at the Census of 1851 the Population of the Borough or Town was 5,000 persons or upwards. A list of this kind enables us to form an easy judgment of some of the leading conditions of the distribution of the unrepresented Borough Population.

In another Statement (X) I have given an extract from the present Electoral Law of the Province of Victoria (Australia), embodying in a statutory form for the first time in any Act of a British Legislature the principle and details of Vote by Ballot. This extract is given as containing facts—exceedingly pertinent to our present purpose—whatever may be the views held by different persons of the expediency or non-expediency of secret voting.

Of the Statements (R) and (S) relating to the Schemes of 1832 and 1854, the following Table (P) is a Summary:—

TABLE P.

REFORM BILL OF 1832.—*Scheme of 1854.—England and Wales.—Summary Statement, in Groups of Counties, of the Changes made in 1832, and the Changes proposed to be made in 1854, in the representation of Counties and Boroughs.*

[The details of this Table are given in Appendices (R) and (S).]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
REFORM ACT, 1832.				GROUPS OF COUNTIES.	BILL OF 1854.			
Members With- drawn from		Members Assigned			Members Assigned		Members With- drawn from	
Boros., wholly.	Boros., moiety.	To New Boros.	To Co'ty Dvns.		To Co'ty Dvns.	To Boros.	Boros., moiety.	Boros., wholly.
No.	No.	No.	No.		No.	No.	No.	No.
....	....	8	....	(I.) METROPOLITAN. { London, Westminster, Middlesex	1	5	....	....
28	8	5	9	(II.) SOUTH-EASTERN. { Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hants	5	....	5	5
8	2	....	6	(III.) SOUTH-MIDLAND. { Berks, Herts, Bucks, Oxon, Northampton, Beds	1	....	6	....
10	2	....	10	(IV.) EASTERN. { Hants, Camb., Essex, Norfolk, Rutland, Lincoln, York, East Riding	9	....	3	4
54	13	3	9	(V.) SOUTH-WESTERN. { Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset	6	....	9	13
4	1	10	9	(VI.) WEST-MIDLAND. { Glo'ster, Hereford, Salop, Stafford, Worcester, Monmouth	6	2	5	2

TABLE P.—Continued.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
REFORM ACT, 1832.				GROUPS OF COUNTIES.	BILL OF 1854.			
Members with- drawn from		Members Assigned			Members Assigned		Members with- drawn from	
Boros., wholly.	Boros., moiety.	To New Boros.	To Co'ty Dvns.		To Co'ty Dvns.	To Boros.	Boros., moiety.	Boros., wholly.
No. 104	No. 26	No. 26	No. 43		No. 28	No. 7	No. 28	No. 24
....	....	2	8	(VII.) MIDLAND. { Warwick, Leicester, Derby, Notts	3	1	2	....
2	1	27	4	(VIII.) NORTH-WESTERN. { Chester, Lancaster, York, West Riding	11	9	1	2
6	3	8	7	(IX.) NORTHERN. { Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmor- land, York, N. Riding....	3	....	2	3
112	30	63	62	(X.) SOUTH WALES. { Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Brecknock, Radnor	45	17	33	29
....	....	1	2	(XI.) NORTH WALES. { Montgomery, Flint, Den- bigh, Merioneth, Car- narvon, Anglesea.....	1	....	....	....
....	....	....	1		....	....	....	....
112	30	64	65		46	17	33	29

The *Reform Act* of 1832 withdrew 142 members from *boroughs* previously sending representatives; viz., 112 members by the total disfranchisement of 56 boroughs, and 30 members by withdrawing one member from each of 30 boroughs.

These 142 members were redistributed as follows, viz.: 65 members by the establishment of new divisions in English counties (including one member to the Isle of Wight), 44 members by the assignment of *two* members to each of 22 boroughs newly enfranchised, 20 members by the assignment of *one* member to each of 20 boroughs newly enfranchised, and the 13 members required to complete the 142 were apportioned, 8 to Scotland and 5 to Ireland.

The *Scheme* of 1854 proposed to withdraw 62 members from boroughs previously sending representatives; viz., 29 members from 19 boroughs to be wholly disfranchised, and 33 members by reducing from *two* members to *one* the representation of 33 boroughs.

To these 62 seats were added the *four* seats already vacant for Sudbury, and St. Alban's, in consequence of the disfranchisement for gross corruption of Sudbury at the general election of 1841, and of St. Alban's at the general election of 1847. The total number of disposable seats was and is, therefore, 66.

Of these 66 seats, 46 were assigned by the Scheme of 1854 to counties, and 17 to various boroughs. The remaining 3 were intended to be assigned to Scotland.

XIII.—*New Suffrages proposed in 1854.*

The qualifications established by the Reform Bill have been stated in a former part of this Paper.

The Scheme of 1854 proposed to establish the following:—

(1). *New Franchises common both to Counties and Boroughs.*

- (a) Persons in receipt of Salaries from Public or Private Employment, of not less than 100*l.* per annum, payable *quarterly* or *half-yearly*.
- (b) Persons in receipt of 10*l.* per annum derived from Government Stock, or Bank or India Stock.
- (c) Persons paying 40*s.* per annum to Income or Assessed Taxes.
- (d) Graduates of any University in the United Kingdom.
- (e) Persons who have for *three years* possessed a deposit of 50*l.* in any Savings' Bank.

(2). *New Franchise for Counties.*

- (f) All Occupiers rated at 10*l.* per annum residing elsewhere than in represented towns.

(3). *New Franchise for Boroughs.*

- (g) All Occupiers rated at 6*l.* who have been resident within the Borough for *two and a half years*.

It was proposed also (see Appendix S) that in most of the largest County and Borough Constituencies the number of members to be returned should be raised from two to *three*; and that, in order to secure some share of representation to the minority of each of these large constituencies, no voter should be entitled to poll for more than *two* candidates. Supposing, therefore, a considerable minority of the voters to be able to agree among themselves to support a particular third candidate, that candidate would almost certainly be returned. It is probable that the farther the discussion of any plans of reforms are carried, the more obvious it will become that, on grounds of justice and prudence, it will be necessary to adopt this or some other mode of securing a reasonable representation of the minority of large constituent bodies. In truth, the larger the mass of voters, the smaller becomes the moral right of a mere numerical majority to exercise an absolute mastery.

The Bill also proposed to provide for the total extinction of the Old Suffrage in Boroughs by prohibiting any future grants of the franchise to freemen in respect of birth or servitude, reserving, however, the rights of freemen already on the registers.

The County and Borough franchise proposed to be conferred in respect of a Deposit of not less than 50*l.* in any Savings' Bank for *three years*; and the *Borough* franchise proposed to be conferred on persons who had occupied at 6*l.* or more rent during *two years and a half*:—would be most materially limited in their operations by the lengthened periods necessary for giving effect to the qualification. In November, 1855, there were 245,000 Deposits in Savings' Banks of 50*l.* and above, and 1,030,000 Deposits under 50*l.*; but it may be safely assumed that a very large proportion of the 50*l.*, &c., Deposi-

tors would be entitled to votes as Occupiers, or under some other of the qualifying clauses. The required residence of two and a half years in the same borough, prior to the acquirement of a 6*l.*, &c., vote, would assuredly curtail, in a most important degree, the diffusion of 6*l.* votes. We have seen in a former page (page 191 ante) that an exhaustive 6*l.* franchise in the Counties and Boroughs of England and Wales would add probably 646,000 votes to the present partial 10*l.* franchise, which yields 914,000 votes; that is to say, would raise the total constituency to 1,560,000 votes. It may be doubted, I think, whether the continued effect of all the franchises proposed in the Bill of 1854 would do more than add about 350,000 votes to the present 914,000 votes, that is, would create a total constituency of, say, 1,264,000 votes.

Prior to the Reform Bill in 1832, it is probable that the total constituency in England and Wales was not more than 430,000 enfranchised persons, viz., 350,000 in the Counties, and 80,000 in the Cities and Boroughs. The suffrages conferred by the Reform Act raised the Total Constituency at once to not less than 800,000 votes; namely, to about 470,000 votes in the *Counties*, and 330,000 votes in the *Boroughs*; and this body of 800,000 votes had become, in 1852-3, after a space of twenty years, a total constituency of, say, 914,000 votes, in the proportion of 510,000 votes in the *Counties*, and 404,000 votes in the *Boroughs*.

We have seen that an *exhaustive* 10*l.* franchise in Counties and Boroughs would give about 1,000,000 votes instead of the present 914,000; and that an *exhaustive* 6*l.* franchise in Counties and Boroughs would give about 1,560,000, instead of the present 914,000 votes.

While, therefore, the Reform Bill raised the Total Constituency of England and Wales from 430,000 votes to 800,000 votes, or to the extent of 86 *per cent.*, an exhaustive 6*l.* franchise would raise the Total Constituency from 914,000 to 1,560,000, or to the extent of 70 *per cent.*

XIV.—*Conclusions.*

The following appear to be some of the more important conclusions justified by the evidence which has been now collected, viz.:—

1. That in England and Wales the Total Number of 494 Members Returned to the House of Commons is composed of two unequal parts; namely, 159 Members returned by County Divisions, and 335 Members returned by Cities and Boroughs; that the Total Population (persons), in 1851, of the *County Divisions* (*exclusive* of the represented Cities and Boroughs therein) was 10½ Millions, and of the *Represented Cities and Boroughs* was 7½ Millions; and that, in 1851-2, the Total Number of Registered *County* Votes was 509,000 votes, and the Total Number of Registered *Borough* Votes was 411,000 votes.

(2). That, adopting the four proportionate tests of—

- (a) The proportion borne by *Electors* to Total Population,
- (b) The proportion borne by *Electors* to Male Adults,
- (c) The proportion borne by *Members* to Electors, and
- (d) The proportion borne by *Members* to Male Adults,

we have the following results as regards the *whole* of England and Wales, viz.:—

- (a) In *Counties*, the proportion of *Electors* to *Total Population* is one Elector in 20·8 persons; and in *Boroughs*, one Elector in 18·1 persons; the Boroughs, therefore, having a slight advantage.
- (b) In *Counties*, the proportion of *Electors* to *Male Adults* may be assumed, on the best presumptive data now available, to be one Elector to 4·6 Male Adults; and in *Boroughs*, one Elector to 6·5 Male Adults—the Counties, therefore, having a considerable advantage.
- (c) In *Counties*, the proportion borne by *Members* to *Electors* is one Member to 4,000 Electors; and in *Boroughs*, one Member to 1,500 Electors—the Boroughs, therefore, having the larger proportionate representation.
- (d) In *Counties*, the proportion borne by *Members* to *Male Adults* is one Member to 19,700 Male Adults; and in *Boroughs*, one member to 9,700 Male Adults—the proportionate comparison being again in favour of the Boroughs.

(3). That, as regards the *County* constituency of the *whole* of England and Wales, the increase between 1837-8 and 1852-3 has been from 473,000 votes to 510,000 votes, or equal to $7\frac{1}{4}$ *per cent.*—the Increase in the Total Population of England and Wales, 1831-51, having been 27·3 *per cent.*

(4). That the manner in which this increase of $7\frac{1}{4}$ *per cent.* has been brought about is extremely irregular; that, for example, in four of the great territorial divisions—the South Midland, the Eastern, the South-Western, and the Midland, including 23 Counties, and returning 88 County Members, or more than one-half of the whole County Representation—the County Electors have remained stationary in numbers—namely, at about 212,000 votes; and that one-half of the total increase in County Votes, since 1837-8, has taken place in the North-Western Division, which includes Cheshire, Lancashire, and the West Riding.

(5). That the 50*l.*, &c., Tenant Voters have slightly declined between 1837-8 and 1852-3—namely, from 108,000 votes to 107,000 votes; but that, in 1837-8, they amounted to 23 *per cent.* of the Total County Constituencies, and in 1852-3 they amounted to 21 *per cent.*

(6). That the Total *Borough* Constituencies of England and Wales have increased, between 1837-8 and 1852-3, from 321,000 votes to 404,000 votes, or in the ratio of 25 *per cent.*, or nearly four times the ratio of increase of the County Constituency; but, as in the case of the County Constituency, the increase of the Borough Constituency has been very irregularly distributed—for example, in the same four great territorial divisions already mentioned (the South-Midland, the Eastern, the South-Western, and the Midland, embracing 81 Boroughs), the increase of Borough Votes has been from 87,000 to 95,000 votes, or 9 *per cent.*, and by these votes there are returned 142 Borough Members out of the whole number of 335 Borough Members returned by England and Wales. Of the total increase in the Borough Votes, one-half (40,000 votes) has taken place in the

Metropolis; and the increase in Cheshire, Lancashire, and the West Riding has been 16,000 Borough Votes.

(7). That the *decrease* in the Total *Old Suffrage* Borough Votes has been from 80,000 votes, in 1837-8, to 60,000 votes, in 1852-3, or a decrease of 20,000 votes, or *25 per cent.*; and of this decrease of 20,000 votes, nearly one-half has taken place in London, Westminster, and Liverpool. In the five territorial divisions (South-Midland, Eastern, South-Western, and Midland, embracing 107 Boroughs), returning 187 out of the 335 Borough Members for England and Wales, the Old Suffrage Votes have constituted, and now constitute, very nearly *25 per cent.* of the total Borough constituency.

(8). That, of the 142 Members withdrawn from decayed Boroughs by the Reform Act of 1832, 65 were assigned to County Divisions, and 64 to new Boroughs; and of the 62 Members proposed to be withdrawn from Boroughs by the Scheme of 1854, 46 were set down to be assigned to County Divisions chiefly by the addition of a *third* member in the larger County constituencies.

(9). That, as far as can be judged from evidence at present available, an exhaustive *10l.* qualification throughout the Counties and Boroughs of England and Wales would raise the present constituency of 914,000 votes to the extent of *8 per cent.*, or to 990,000 votes.

(10). That an exhaustive *6l.* qualification would raise the present constituency of 914,000 votes to the extent of *70 per cent.*, or to 1,560,000 votes.

(11). That the various Qualifications proposed by the Bill of 1854 would probably raise the present constituency of 914,000 votes to the extent of *38 per cent.*, or to 1,264,000 votes.

(12). That, in comparing the Number of Registered Votes with the Number of Persons, it seems to be probable that at least *6 per cent.* must be deducted from the Number of Votes in order to arrive at the Number of *Persons* enfranchised—the deduction being rendered necessary by duplicate and triplicate qualifications being held by one person.

(13). That of the Total Number of Dwelling Houses in England and Wales, more than *one-half* are rented at *less* than *6l.* per annum; and that of the occupiers of these small houses, about *one-fourth* are excused from payment of Poor Rate by reason of Poverty.

(14). That the present Constituency of 914,000 votes confers the franchise in *Counties* on one adult male in 4·6; and in *Boroughs* on one adult male in 6·5, or in both combined on one adult male in 5·2.

(15). That an exhaustive *6l.* qualification would confer the franchise on one adult male in 3·0.

(16). That according to the Poll Returns of the General Election of 1852, it appears that in the larger County and Borough Constituencies the Number of Votes actually Polled is not more than *one-half* or *two-thirds* of the Votes on the Register.

(17). That any Plan which proposed to redistribute the franchise, or the number of Members, upon the single principle of density of Population, could only be carried into effect by a complete breaking up and reconstruction of the existing county and municipal areas of the whole country.

APPENDIX.

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In the following Table (Q) a statement is attempted to be given of all or most of the important elements relative to the Parliamentary Constituency of each County Division, and of each Borough within it, according to the Returns at present available for the latest period, viz., 1851-2.

The headings of the Cols. leave but little to be explained. The Numbers Polled at the severely contested Election of 1852 are given in Col. 4; and the small proportion of Polled to Registered Voters, in most of the large constituencies, is very remarkable. In Col. 7 is given the Number of Houses in each Borough rated to the Poor; and in juxtaposition, in Col. 6, the Number of 10*l.*, &c., Houses giving Votes. The long-tail figures, at the end of the Names of Places, are the *Freemen Voters* in each Place. Thus, in Westminster City, the Freemen, or Old Suffrage Voters, are 1,497.

The Places *Enfranchised*, in 1832, are marked with a star *; the Places from which one member was *taken away*, in 1832, are put in italics (*e. g. Hythe*).

In the *County Divisions*, the Population given, and Inhabited Houses (I. H.) given, are the Results for each Division *after excluding* the Parliamentary Boroughs within it. Thus, in East Kent, there are 151,666 persons, and 28,104 I. H. in those portions of East Kent not included within the limits of the four Parliamentary Boroughs situated within that County Division.

The Tables (F) and (G), at pages 180-1 *ante*, contain a Summary of this detailed statement (Q).

TABLE Q.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1851-2;—*arranged in Groups of Counties.*

[A Note explanatory of the several cols. of this Table will be found at page 200.]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
No.	I.—METROPOLITAN.		Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	No.
283,000	MIDDLESEX.....	2	8,721	14,610	....	....	1,386
128,000	46,377 I. H. London City (7,203)	4	10,702	20,728	13,525	16,384	....
241,000	Westminster City (1,497)	2	8,765	14,883	13,386	25,148	....
324,000	*Finsbury	2	10,282	20,025	20,025	38,342	....
371,000	*Marylebone	2	....	19,710	19,710	40,728	....
539,000	*Tower Hamlets	2	13,156	23,534	23,534	80,624	....
251,000	*Lambeth	2	8,784	18,131	18,131	40,985	....
173,000	Southwark (332)	2	6,693	9,458	9,126	23,111	....
2,310,000		18		141,079	117,437	265,322	
	IIa.—UNIVERSITIES.						
....	Oxford University.....	2	....	3,474	....	....	....
....	Cambridge University	2	....	4,063	....	....	....
		4		7,537			
	II.—SOUTH EASTERN.						
151,666	KENT, EAST	2	5,221	7,119	....	....	1,384
	28,104 I. H.						
18,398	Canterbury..... (946)	2	1,339	1,874	928	2,780	....
22,244	Dover..... (991)	2	1,758	2,064	1,073	3,575	....
13,164	Hythe..... (45)	1	608	856	811	2,400	....
12,710	Sandwich (329)	2	....	960	631	2,538	....
218,182		9		12,873	3,443	11,293	
231,711	KENT, WEST	2	5,852	9,379	....	....	1,751
	42,280 I. H.						
28,424	*Chatham	1	1,109	1,371	1,371	4,511	....
105,784	*Greenwich	2	5,189	6,308	6,308	16,505	....
20,801	Maidstone (532)	2	1,428	1,751	1,219	3,613	....
14,938	Rochester (340)	2	1,117	1,269	929	2,404	....
397,584		9		20,078	9,827	27,033	

(Q.)—Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHES THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	SOUTH EASTERN—Contd.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
147,017	SURREY, EAST 25,104 I. H.	2	4,584	6,618	....	....	1,179
4,927	Reigate	1	176	228	228	726	....
151,944		3		6,846	228	726	
96,116	SURREY, WEST 18,110 I. H.	2	3,022	3,897	....	....	641
6,740	Guildford (78)	2	505	648	570	792	....
102,856		4		4,545	570	792	....
120,629	SUSSEX, EAST 21,372 I. H.	2	3,717	5,298	....	....	1,034
69,673	*Brighton	2	2,736	3,675	3,675	11,259	....
17,011	Hastings.....	2	857	1,090	1,083	2,391	....
9,533	Lewes..... (158)	2	....	713	545	1,663	....
8,541	Rye..... (13)	1	448	562	549	2,278	....
225,387		9		11,338	5,852	17,591	....
56,526	SUSSEX, WEST 10,660 I. H.	2	....	3,257	....	....	479
2,748	Arundel (85)	1	....	208	123	566	....
8,662	Chichester (76)	2	....	757	681	1,835	....
5,947	Horsham	1	....	350	349	1,029	....
7,021	Midhurst	1	....	279	279	1,292	....
30,553	Shoreham (369)	2	....	1,865	1,496	5,339	....
111,457		9		6,716	2,928	10,061	....
111,304	HANTS, NORTH 21,775 I. H.	2	....	3,596	....	....	698
5,395	Andover	2	153	241	241	1,017	....
5,550	Petersfield	1	....	353	351	1,037	....
13,704	Winchester..... (17)	2	650	788	771	2,105	....
135,953		7		4,978	1,363	4,159	....
98,935	HANTS, SOUTH 19,161 I. H.	2	....	5,694	....	....	500
7,475	Christchurch	1	....	313	312	1,727	....
5,282	Lymington	2	302	338	332	1,078	....
72,096	Portsmouth	2	....	3,332	3,329	13,219	....
35,805	Southampton..... (232)	2	1,841	2,419	2,187	6,277	....
219,093		9		12,096	6,160	22,301	....

(Q).—Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGH THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c, Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	SOUTH EASTERN—Contd.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
42,277	ISLE OF WIGHT	1	....	1,665	....	....	....
8,047	7,378 I. H.						
	Newport	2	570	707	703	1,430	....
50,324		3		2,372	703	1,430	....
	III.—SOUTH MIDLAND.						
125,443	BERKSHIRE	3	1,971	5,129	....	....	994
	25,202 I. H.						
5,954	Abingdon	1	....	312	303	1,255	....
21,456	Reading	2	1,166	1,399	1,392	4,317	....
8,064	Wallingford	1	342	428	399	1,100	....
9,596	Windsor	2	637	712	712	1,385	....
170,065		9		7,980	2,806	8,057	....
153,693	HERTFORDSHIRE	3	4,258	5,268	....	....	1,253
	30,062 I. H.						
6,605	Hertford	2	516	685	516	915	....
7,000	[St. Albans]	2	....	511	383	1,384	....
167,298		7		6,464	899	2,299	....
115,901	BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	3	3,050	5,659	....	....	1,177
	23,491 I. H.						
26,794	Aylesbury	2	1,000	1,417	1,065	4,393	....
8,069	Buckingham	2	....	349	346	1,747	....
7,179	Chipping Wycombe	2	324	346	345	724	....
6,523	Great Marlow	2	303	354	300	700	....
163,723		11		8,125	2,056	7,564	....
125,216	OXFORDSHIRE	3	3,151	5,198	....	....	1,183
	25,983 I. H.						
8,715	Banbury	1	....	491	491	1,780	....
27,843	Oxford City	2	....	2,818	1,575	4,438	....
7,983	Woodstock	1	....	347	310	1,254	....
170,439		7		8,854	2,376	7,472	....
86,528	NORTHAMPTON, NORTH ...	2	614	3,900	....	....	935
	17,935 I. H.						
8,672	Peterborough	2	441	518	405	1,715	....
96,801		4		4,418	405	1,715	....

(Q.)—Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	SOUTH MIDLAND—Contd.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
88,413	NORTHAMPTON, SOUTH.... 18,991 I. H.	2	2,029	4,568	....	....	1,055
26,657	Northampton (784)	2	1,604	2,263	1,479	4,508	....
115,579		4		6,831	1,479	4,508	....
112,785	BEDFORDSHIRE 22,366 I. H.	2	....	4,513	....	....	910
11,693	Bedford (398)	2	804	910	512	942	....
124,478		4		5,423	512	942	....
	IV.—EASTERN.						
57,964	HUNTINGDONSHIRE 12,041 I. H.	2	....	2,852	....	....	582
6,219	Huntingdon (63)	2	....	390	327	1,290	....
64,183		4		3,242	327	1,290	....
157,590	CAMBRIDGESHIRE 32,032 I. H.	3	....	6,989	....	....	962
27,815	Cambridge (63)	2	1,546	1,984	1,976	5,512	....
185,405		5		8,973	1,976	5,512	....
165,541	Essex, NORTH 34,335 I. H.	2	3,276	5,715	....	....	1,329
19,443	Colchester (466)	2	1,112	1,258	792	4,215	....
4,451	Harwich (466)	2	254	272	269	901	....
189,435		6		7,245	1,061	5,116	....
173,995	Essex, SOUTH 33,120 I. H.	2	4,312	5,819	....	....	1,541
5,888	Maldon (610)	2	743	845	235	1,136	....
179,883		4		6,664	235	1,136	....
155,230	NORFOLK, EAST 32,614 I. H.	2	....	8,216	....	....	1,738
68,195	Norwich (2,930)	2	3,748	5,390	2,460	16,512	....
30,879	Yarmouth (2,930)	2	1,103	1,249	1,249	2,897	....
250,305		6		14,855	3,709	19,409	....

(Q.)—*Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.*

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHES THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	EASTERN—Continued.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
168,979	NORFOLK, WEST	2	5,232	7,827	....	....	1,647
	34,846 I. H.						
19,355	King's Lynn (200)	2	912	1,176	976	3,860	....
4,075	Thetford	2	....	200	192	878	....
192,409		6		9,203	1,168	4,738	
148,480	SUFFOLK, EAST	2	....	6,343	....	....	1,684
	30,677 I. H.						
32,914	Ipswich (345)	2	1,553	1,838	1,493	7,285	....
185,393		4		8,181	1,493	7,285	
130,391	SUFFOLK, WEST	2	....	4,379	....	....	1,092
	26,620 I. H.						
13,900	Bury St. Edmund's	2	661	741	738	2,969	....
7,531	Eye (28)	1	....	356	327	1,480	....
151,822		5		5,476	1,065	4,449	
22,983	RUTLANDSHIRE	2	....	1,876	....	....	398
	4,588 I. H. (No Boroughs.)						
22,983		2		1,876	....	....
149,626	LINCOLN (Kesteven & Holland)	2	....	8,554	....	....	2,236
	29,560 I. H.						
17,518	Boston (160)	2	837	987	827	3,650	....
10,873	Grantham (236)	2	670	774	538	1,930	....
8,933	Stamford (139)	2	....	566	427	1,595	....
185,349		8		10,881	1,792	7,175	
192,074	LINCOLN (Lindsey)	2	9,642	11,677	....	....	3,061
	39,027 I. H.						
12,263	Grimsby (312)	1	633	861	549	2,301	....
17,536	Lincoln (548)	2	1,169	1,363	815	3,623	....
221,873		5		13,901	1,364	5,924	
123,920	YORK, EAST RIDING	2	....	7,538	....	....	2,449
	25,061 I. H.						
10,058	Beverley (907)	2	1,071	1,405	498	2,327	....
84,690	Hull (1,834)	2	4,003	5,221	3,387	13,418	....
220,980		6		14,164	3,885	15,745	

(Q.)—Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHES THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	V.—SOUTH WESTERN.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
86,024	WILTS, NORTH 18,007 I. H.	2	....	4,955	....	....	754
5,195	Calne	1	....	160	153	1,046	....
6,283	Chippenham	2	....	300	300	1,078	....
35,503	Cricklade (250)	2	....	1,647	1,397	6,718	....
6,554	Devizes	2	....	373	365	1,406	....
6,998	Malmesbury (13)	1	265	309	296	1,279	....
5,135	Marlborough	2	....	271	266	780	....
151,692		12		8,015	2,977	12,307	
73,615	WILTS, SOUTH 14,879 I. H.	2	2,447	3,256	....	....	664
11,657	Salisbury (18)	2	530	680	662	2,503	....
7,029	Westbury	1	284	314	314	1,681	....
8,607	Wilton (10)	1	151	219	209	1,237	....
102,529		6		4,469	1,185	5,421	
133,017	DORSETSHIRE..... 26,470 I. H.	3	....	5,690	....	....	1,338
7,566	Bridport..... (35)	2	457	524	489	717	....
6,394	Dorchester.....	2	276	432	432	461	....
3,516	Lyme Regis	1	271	309	305	670	....
9,255	Poole (43)	2	....	508	465	2,091	....
9,404	Shaftesbury (89)	1	....	509	420	1,810	....
7,218	Wareham (17)	1	....	418	401	873	....
9,458	Weymouth..... (22)	2	592	679	657	1,804	....
184,207		14		9,069	3,169	8,426	
159,759	DEVON, NORTH 31,752 I. H.	2	....	8,064	....	....	2,225
11,371	Barnstaple (260)	2	695	771	511	2,070	....
11,144	Tiverton (10)	2	....	461	451	....	....
182,274		6		9,296	962	2,070	
217,884	DEVON, SOUTH 41,857 I. H.	2	....	9,569	....	....	2,501
3,432	Ashburton (15)	1	....	236	221	628	....
4,508	Dartmouth.....	1	281	302	298	935	....
50,159	*Devonport	2	2,126	2,407	2,407	5,165	....
40,688	Exeter (286)	2	2,251	2,501	2,215	5,510	....
3,427	Honiton (91)	2	244	287	196	746	....
52,221	Plymouth (48)	2	2,009	2,482	2,434	5,596	....
8,086	Tavistock	2	300	349	344	741	....
4,419	Totness (20)	2	301	371	351	838	....
384,824		16		18,504	8,466	20,159	

(Q.)—*Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.*

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHES THEREIN.	Mem- bers	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	SOUTH WESTERN—Contd.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
130,256	CORNWALL, EAST 25,367 I. H.	2	4,546	5,694	....	....	1,409
6,337	Bodmin (10)	2	327	367	357	987	....
6,005	Launceston	1	....	361	361	843	....
6,204	Liskeard	1	....	343	339	965	....
148,802		6		6,765	1,057	2,795	
165,167	CORNWALL, WEST 31,702 I. H.	2	....	4,649	....	....	792
7,328	Helston	1	....	317	315	1,182	....
13,656	Penryn (173)	2	730	906	733	1,936	....
9,872	St. Ives	1	492	578	572	1,660	....
10,733	Truro	2	513	607	603	2,569	....
206,756		8		7,057	2,223	7,347	
172,189	SOMERSET, EAST 34,953 I. H.	2	7,505	10,140	....	....	2,409
54,240	Bath	2	2,527	3,278	3,274	6,794	....
10,148	*Frome	1	....	383	383	2,237	....
4,736	Wells (76)	2	302	325	249	957	....
258,911		7		14,126	3,906	9,988	
160,152	SOMERSET, WEST 31,733 I. H.	2	....	8,210	....	....	1,825
10,317	Bridgewater (115)	2	503	688	570	2,164	....
14,176	Taunton (97)	2	728	790	693	2,721	....
185,005		6		9,688	1,263	4,835	
99,784	VI.—WEST MIDLAND. GLOUCESTER, EAST 20,495 I. H.	2	....	7,986	....	....	1,248
35,051	*Cheltenham	1	1,869	2,400	2,400	6,708	....
6,096	Cirencester (115)	2	397	434	319	1,184	....
17,572	Gloucester (407)	2	1,490	1,621	1,214	2,358	....
36,535	*Stroud	2	1,149	1,328	1,328	9,131	....
5,878	Tewkesbury (49)	2	333	370	324	1,360	....
200,916		11		14,139	5,585	20,741	
138,159	GLOUCESTER, WEST 28,165 I. H.	2	6,053	8,635	....	....	1,347
137,328	Bristol (4,204)	2	7,960	12,548	8,344	20,644	....
257,889		4		21,183	8,344	20,644	

(Q.)—Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	WEST MIDLAND—Contd.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
98,035	HEREFORDSHIRE	3	5,480	6,972	....	....	1,761
	20,312 I. H.						
12,108	Hereford (283)	2	698	1,013	730	2,063	....
5,214	Leominster..... (196)	2	383	551	355	1,182	....
115,489		7		8,536	1,085	3,245	
108,481	SALOP, NORTH	2	....	4,685	....	....	1,347
	21,587 I. H.						
19,681	Shrewsbury (519)	2	1,248	1,666	1,147	4,118	....
128,162		4		6,351	1,147	4,118	
67,688	SALOP, SOUTH	2	....	3,571	....	....	1,156
	13,370 I. H.						
7,610	Bridgenorth (387)	2	640	717	330	1,442	....
5,376	Ludlow (42)	2	377	450	408	1,102	....
20,588	Wenlock..... (135)	2		905	770	4,244	....
101,179		8		5,643	1,508	6,788	
139,038	STAFFORD, NORTH'	2	....	9,546	....	....	2,030
	27,501 I. H.						
10,567	Newcastle-under-Lyme (317)	2	969	1,090	773	2,287	....
11,829	Stafford (831)	2	1,000	1,246	415	1,837	....
84,027	*Stoke-upon-Trent	2	1,575	1,778	1,778	15,973	....
245,463		8		13,660	2,966	20,097	
206,305	STAFFORDSHIRE, SOUTH	2	....	10,116	....	....	965
	39,570 I. H.						
7,012	Lichfield..... (601)	2	540	836	235	1,571	....
8,655	Tamworth (75)	2	....	382	307	1,200	....
25,680	*Walsall.....	1	....	1,026	1,026	4,952	....
119,748	*Wolverhampton	2	....	3,587	3,587	23,570	....
363,253		9		15,947	5,155	31,293	
112,845	WORCESTERSHIRE, EAST	2	....	6,515	....	....	915
	22,692 I. H.						
7,096	Droitwich	1	....	367	365	1,365	....
37,962	*Dudley	1	631	912	912	6,002	....
4,605	Evesham..... (93)	2	318	349	256	881	....
162,508		6		8,143	1,533	8,248	

(Q.)—*Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.*

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	WEST MIDLAND— <i>Contd.</i>		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
61,110	WORCESTERSHIRE, WEST 12,570 I. H.	2	....	4,135	....	....	773
7,318	Bewdley	1	320	390	381	894	....
18,462	*Kidderminster	1	398	495	495	3,674	....
27,528	Worcester (678)	2	1,808	2,290	1,612	5,202	....
114,418		6		7,310	2,488	9,770	
130,906	MONMOUTHSHIRE	2	....	4,973	....	....	1,072
5,710	24,612 I. H.						
20,802	Monmouth..... (83) 2 Contrib. Bor.	1	....	1,676	1,593	4,178	....
157,418		3		6,649	1,593	4,178	
	VII.—MIDLAND.						
101,464	WARWICKSHIRE, NORTH 21,527 I. H.	2	5,182	7,002	....	....	1,089
232,841	*Birmingham	2	....	7,936	7,936	53,425	....
36,812	Coventry (3,723)	2	....	4,502	779	7,984	....
375,264		6		19,440	8,715	61,409	
88,776	WARWICKSHIRE, SOUTH 18,481 I. H.	2	....	3,980	....	....	1,091
10,973	Warwick..... (150)	2	656	723	573	2,388	....
99,749		4		4,703	573	2,388	
91,308	LEICESTERSHIRE, NORTH 19,226 I. H. (no boroughs.)	2	....	4,097	....	....	929
91,308		2	....	....	....	....	....
78,416	LEICESTERSHIRE, SOUTH 16,922 I. H.	2	....	5,131	....	....	1,039
60,584	Leicester..... (1,450)	2	2,805	3,853	2,403	12,327	....
139,000		4		8,984	2,403	12,327	
130,067	DERBY, NORTH	2	....	5,315	....	....	1,101
	25,531 I. H. (no boroughs.)		....	....	....	....	....
130,067		2		5,315	....	....

(Q.)—Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGH THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	MIDLAND—Contd.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
125,408	DERBY, SOUTH	2	....	7,099	....	....	1,470
40,609	Derby (439)	2	2,045	2,418	2,009	8,511	....
166,017		4		9,547	2,009	8,511	
86,599	NOTTS, NORTH	2	....	3,996	....	....	386
46,054	17,259 I. H.	2	....	2,710	2,218	8,123	....
57,407	East Retford (492)	2	....	5,260	2,386	11,599	....
	Nottingham (2,874)	2	3,316				
190,060		6		11,966	4,604	19,722	
69,037	NOTTS, SOUTH	2	....	3,801	....	....	1,000
11,330	14,198 I. H.	2	791	867	374	2,450	
80,367	Newark (493)	2		4,668	374	2,450	
		4					
	VIII.—NORTH WESTERN.						
169,756	CHESHIRE, NORTH	2	....	7,494	....	...	1,674
	31,407 I. H.	2		1,058	1,058	11,377	....
39,058	*Macclesfield	2	959	1,341	1,341	11,255	....
53,835	*Stockport	2	1,180				....
249,000		6		9,893	2,399	22,632	
178,959	CHESHIRE, SOUTH	2	....	8,117	....	....	2,158
27,766	32,559 I. H.	2	....	2,524	1,073	5,015	....
206,725	Chester (1,451)	2		10,641	1,073	5,015	
		4					
316,804	LANCASHIRE, NORTH	2	....	12,297	....	....	3,296
46,536	57,935 I. H.	2		1,258	1,258	8,517	....
11,480	*Blackburn	1	1,185	448	448	2,200	....
16,168	Clitheroe	2	409	1,393	993	2,993	....
69,542	Lancaster (400)	2	1,295	2,854	1,658	11,533	....
460,530	Preston (1,196)	2	2,607				
		9		18,250	4,357	25,213	

(Q.)—*Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.*

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHES THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	NORTH WESTERN— <i>Contd.</i>		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
500,711	LANCASHIRE, SOUTH..... 90,920 I. H.	2	....	21,196	....	....	2,933
29,791	*Ashton-under-Lyne	1	....	937	937	5,439	....
61,171	*Bolton	2	1,444	1,671	1,671	10,244	....
31,262	*Bury	1	884	959	959	5,849	....
375,955	Liverpool (2,225)	2	11,820	17,433	15,208	64,212	....
316,213	*Manchester	2	9,940	13,921	13,921	53,648	....
72,357	*Oldham	2	1,645	1,890	1,890	14,076	....
29,195	*Rochdale	1	904	1,160	1,160	6,301	....
85,108	*Salford	1	....	2,950	2,950	15,478	....
23,363	*Warrington	1	....	701	701	4,778	....
31,941	Wigan	2	670	718	711	5,655	....
1,570,706		17		63,536	40,108	185,660	
794,888	YORKSHIRE, W. R. 158,247 I. H.	2	....	37,319	....	....	5,936
103,778	*Bradford	2	2,298	2,683	2,683	18,408	....
33,582	*Halifax	2	1,096	1,200	1,200	6,615	....
30,880	*Huddersfield	1	1,215	1,364	1,364	5,354	....
5,536	Knaresborough	2	224	242	242	1,472	....
172,270	*Leeds	2	3,528	6,406	6,406	35,831	....
11,515	Pontefract (201)	2	633	684	483	2,709	....
6,080	Ripon	2	295	353	353	1,377	....
135,310	*Sheffield	2	4,036	5,322	5,322	27,550	....
22,057	*Wakefield	1	685	850	850	4,611	....
1,315,896		18		56,423	18,903	103,907	
	IX.—NORTHERN.						
136,966	DURHAM, NORTH 25,632 I. H.	2	....	6,631	....	....	983
13,188	Durham (591)	2	1,001	1,157	566	1,618	....
25,568	*Gateshead	1	599	711	711	2,403	....
28,974	*South Shields	1	679	925	925	2,074	....
67,394	*Sunderland	2	1,539	1,973	1,973	5,756	....
272,090		8		11,397	4,175	11,851	
118,907	DURHAM, SOUTH 22,099 I. H. (no boroughs.)	2	....	5,616	....	....	1,219
118,907		2	....	5,616	....	....	....

(Q.)—Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.

Population, [1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGH THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	NORTHERN—Contd.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
66,819	NORTHUMBERLAND, NORTH 12,203 I. H.	2	2,568	3,111	....	....	1,068
15,094	Berwick (344)	2	659	781	437	1,193	....
10,012	Morpeth (103)	1	....	415	312	1,858	....
91,925		5		4,307	749	3,051	
94,689	NORTHUMBERLAND, SOUTH 17,303 I. H.	2	4,117	5,369	....	....	1,285
87,784	Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1618)	2	3,788	5,269	3,651	9,327	....
29,170	*Tynemouth	1	669	883	883	7,103	....
211,643		5		11,521	4,534	16,430	
76,699	CUMBERLAND, EAST	2	4,204	5,351	....	....	1,035
26,310	Carlisle (330)	2	935	1,134	804	2,947	....
103,009		4		6,485	804	2,947	
66,292	CUMBERLAND, WEST	2	....	4,144	....	....	1,021
7,275	13,073 I. H.						
18,916	Cockermouth	2	308	355	355	1,518	....
	*Whitehaven	1	....	512	512	4,039	....
92,483		5		5,011	867	5,557	
46,458	WESTMORELAND	2	....	4,062	....	....	1,126
11,829	8,760 I. H.						
	*Kendal	1	....	382	382	2,509	....
58,287		3		4,444	382	2,509	
176,224	YORKSHIRE, N. R.	2	....	11,319	....	....	4,358
	36,323 I. H.						
7,661	Malton (62)	2	....	539	477	1,339	....
4,995	Northallerton	1	....	281	276	1,153	....
4,969	Richmond (10)	2	....	243	233	1,005	....
12,915	Scarborough	2	721	805	800	3,014	....
5,319	Thirsk	1	....	357	357	1,156	....
10,989	*Whitby	1	327	454	454	2,758	....
40,359	York (2,695)	2	3,294	4,133	1,438	6,949	....
261,116		13		18,131	4,035	17,374	

(Q.)—*Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.*

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHS THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1852.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.	X.—WALES, SOUTH.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
105,459	GLAMORGANSHIRE..... 20,467 I. H.	2	....	6,424	....	....	975
18,351	Cardiff.....	1	956	968	690	3,093	....
2,073	2 others.....						
63,080	*Merthyr Tydfil.....	1	....	938	938	9,061	....
31,461	Swansea.....	1	....	1,694	1,305	7,253	....
13,662	4 others.....						
231,849		5		10,024	2,933	19,407	
90,315	CARMARTHENSHIRE..... 18,780 I. H.	2	....	4,791	....	....	917
10,524	Carmarthen.....	1	....	849	716	3,424	
8,710	1 other.....						
110,632		3		5,640	716	3,424	
66,876	PEMBROKESHIRE..... 13,988 I. H.	1	....	3,132	....	....	499
6,580	Haverfordwest.....	1	498	682	370	1,968	....
3,149	2 others.....						
10,107	Pembroke.....	1	....	951	552	2,927	....
6,593	3 others.....						
94,140		3		4,765	922	4,895	
60,954	CARDIGANSHIRE..... 12,996 I. H.	1	....	2,235	....	....	699
3,876	Cardigan.....	1	581	849	670	2,197	
7,884	3 others.....						
70,796		2		3,084	670	2,197	
53,167	BRECKNOCKSHIRE..... 10,511 I. H.	1	....	2,779	....	....	638
6,070	Brecon.....	1	281	336	332	1,006	....
61,474		2		3,115	332	1,006	
18,112	RADNORSHIRE..... 3,244 I. H.	1	....	1,802	....	....	473
2,315	Radnor.....	1	....	484	375	1,271	
4,308	5 others.....						
24,716		2		2,286	375	1,271	

(Q.)—Continued.—Parliamentary Representation of England and Wales, 1851-2.

Population, 1851. (Persons.)	COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors, 1851-2.		Houses in Boroughs.		Counties, £50, &c., Tenant Voters.
			Polled at General Election, 1853.	On Register, 1851-2.	£10 and upwards giving Votes.	Rated to Poor.	
No.			No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
	XI.—WALES, NORTH.						
49,448	MONTGOMERYSHIRE	1	....	2,986	....	....	1,133
1,248	9,479 I. H.						
16,639	Montgomery	1	736	1,003	936	3,573	....
	5 others						
67,335		2		3,989	936	3,573	
49,372	FLINTSHIRE	1	2,186	2,912	....	....	612
	10,078 I. H.						
3,296	Flint	1	653	819	633	4,053	....
15,518	7 others						
68,156		2		3,731	633	4,053	
75,969	DENBIGHSHIRE	2	3,213	3,901	....	....	1,179
	15,666 I. H.						
5,498	Denbigh	1	650	858	555	3,501	....
11,116	3 others						
92,583		3		4,759	555	3,501	
38,843	MERIONETHSHIRE	1	....	1,006	....	....	437
	8,159 I. H.						
38,843	(No Boroughs).	....	....	....	....	....	....
65,660	CARNARVONSHIRE	1	....	1,913	....	....	470
	13,424 I. H.						
8,674	Carnarvon	1	649	861	707	3,594	....
13,536	4 others						
87,870		2		2,774	707	3,594	
44,575	ANGLESEY	1	....	2,577	....	....	481
	9,532 I. H.						
2,599	Beaumaris	1	....	459	454	2,007	....
10,153	3 others						
57,327		2		3,036	454	2,007	....

TABLE R.

REFORM ACT, 1832, ENGLAND AND WALES (2 *Will. IV.*, cap. 45, June 7).
Outline, arranged in groups of Counties, of the Changes made in the Representation of England and Wales.

[Col. 1 shows the Places wholly disfranchised :—Col. 2 shows the Places from each of which *one* Member was taken :—Col. 3 shows the Places to which Members were newly assigned ; thus :—The County of Kent was raised from (2) Members to 4, by being divided into East and West Kent.]

I.—METROPOLITAN.

1 Wholly Disfranchised.	2 After Act, to return only <i>one</i> Member each.	3 After Act, to return one or two <i>More or New</i> Members each, as stated.
nil.	nil.	<i>Middlesex</i> (2) — Finsbury 2 Marylebone 2 Tower Hamlets 2 Lambeth 2 — <i>Boros</i> 8

II.—SOUTH-EASTERN.

<i>Kent.</i> Queenborough.. 2	<i>Kent.</i> Hythe 1	<i>Kent, County</i> (2) East 2
„ Romney 2		„ „ West.... 2
	<i>Surrey.</i> Reigate 1	„ Chatham 1
<i>Surrey.</i> Gatton 2		„ Greenwich 2
„ Bletchingley.. 2	<i>Sussex.</i> Midhurst 1	<i>Surrey, County</i> (2) East 2
„ Haslemere 2	„ Horsham 1	„ „ West 2
	„ Arundel 1	
<i>Sussex.</i> Bramber 2	„ Rye 1	<i>Sussex, County</i> (2) East 2
„ East Grinstead 2		„ „ West 2
„ Winchelsea 2	<i>Hants.</i> Petersfield 1	„ Brighton 2
„ Seaford 2	„ Christchurch 1	
„ Steyning 2		<i>Hants, County</i> (2) North 2
		„ „ South 2
<i>Hants.</i> Yarmouth, I.W. 2		„ „ I. of W. 1
„ Stockbridge 2		
„ Whitchurch 2		
„ Newtown, I.W. 2		
—	—	—
28	8	<i>Cos. 9 :—Boros. 5 = 14</i>

APP. (R.)—Continued.—Alterations under Reform Act, 1832.

III.—SOUTH MIDLAND.

1 Wholly Disfranchised.	2 After Act, to return only <i>one</i> Member each.	3 After Act, to return one or two <i>More or New</i> Members each, as stated.
<i>Berks.</i> (nil.)..... —	<i>Berks.</i> Wallingford 1	<i>Berks, County</i> (2) 3
<i>Herts.</i> „ —	<i>Herts.</i> (nil.) —	<i>Herts.</i> „ (2) 3
<i>Bucks.</i> Wendover 2	<i>Bucks.</i> (nil.)..... —	<i>Bucks</i> „ (2) 3
„ Amersham 2		
<i>Oxon.</i> (nil.) —	<i>Oxon.</i> Woodstock.. 1	<i>Oxon.</i> „ (2) 3
<i>N'hamton.</i> Higham } 2	<i>N'hamton.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>N'hamton. Co.</i> (2) N.... 2
„ Ferrers } 2		„ „ S.... 2
„ Brackley 2		
<i>Beds.</i> (nil.)..... —	<i>Beds.</i> „ —	<i>Beds, County</i> (2) —
8	2	<i>Cos.</i> 6

IV.—EASTERN.

<i>Hunts.</i> (nil.)..... —	<i>Hunts.</i> (nil.)..... —	<i>Hunts, County</i> (2) —
<i>Cambs.</i> „ —	<i>Cambs.</i> „ —	<i>Cambs.</i> „ (2) 3
<i>Essex.</i> „ —	<i>Essex.</i> „ —	<i>Essex.</i> „ (2) North 2
		„ „ South 2
<i>Norfolk.</i> Castle Rising 2	<i>Norfolk.</i> „ —	<i>Norfolk.</i> „ (2) East 2
<i>Suffolk.</i> Dunwich 2	<i>Suffolk.</i> Eye..... 1	„ „ West 2
„ Orford 2		<i>Suffolk.</i> „ (2) East 2
„ Aldeburgh.. 2		„ „ West 2
<i>Rutland.</i> (nil.)..... —	<i>Rutland.</i> (nil.) —	<i>Rutland.</i> „ (2) —
<i>Lincoln.</i> „ —	<i>Lincoln.</i> Grimsby.... 1	<i>Lincoln.</i> „ (2) —
<i>York, E.R.</i> Hedon ... 2	<i>York, E.R.</i> (nil.).... —	Lindsey 2
10	2	Kesteven & Hol. 2
		<i>York, E.R., County</i> (1) 2
		<i>Cos.</i> 10

APP. (R.).—*Continued.*—*Alterations under Reform Act, 1832.*

V.—SOUTH WESTERN.

1 Wholly Disfranchised.	2 After Act. to return only <i>one</i> Member each.	3 After Act, to return one or two <i>More or New</i> Members each, as stated.
<i>Wilts.</i> Old Sarum 2	<i>Wilts.</i> Westbury..... 1	<i>Wilts.</i> County (2) North 2
„ Ludgershall 2	„ Wilton 1	„ „ South 2
„ Hindon 2	„ Malmesbury... 1	
„ Bedwin 2	„ Calne 1	<i>Dorset.</i> „ (2)..... 3
„ Heytesbury 2		
„ Woot'n Bassett 2	<i>Dorset.</i> Wareham 1	<i>Devon.</i> „ (2) North 2
„ Downton 2	„ Lyme Regis... 1	„ „ South 2
	„ Shaftesbury... 1	„ Devonport..... 2
<i>Dorset.</i> Corfe Castle... 2		
	<i>Devon.</i> Ashburton 1	<i>Cornwall.</i> Co. (2) East 2
<i>Devon.</i> Beeralston 2	„ Dartmouth... 1	„ „ West 2
„ Plympton 2		
„ Okehampton... 2	<i>Cornwall.</i> Liskeard... 1	<i>Somerset.</i> „ (2) East 2
<i>Cornwal.</i> St. Michaels 2	„ Launceston 1	„ „ West 2
„ Bossiney 2	„ St. Ives 1	„ Frome 1
„ St. Mawes 2	„ Helston 1	
„ West Looe.... 2		
„ St. Germans 2		
„ Newport 2		
„ Camelford 2		
„ East Looe 2		
„ Tregony..... 2		
„ Saltash 2		
„ Callington 2		
„ Fowey 2		
„ Lostwithiel.. 2		
<i>Somrst.</i> Milborne-Port 2		
„ Minehead 2		
„ Ilchester 2		
54	13	Cos. 9:—Boros. 3=12

X. & XI.—WALES, NORTH AND SOUTH.

(nil.)	(nil.)	<i>Glamorgan.</i> County (1)... 1
		„ Merthyr-T. .. 1
		<i>Carnarvon.</i> County (1)... 1
		<i>Denbighshire</i> (1)... 1
		Cos. 3:—Boros. 1= 4

APP. (R.)—Continued.—Alterations under Reform Act, 1832.

VI.—WEST MIDLAND.

1 Wholly Disfranchised.	2 After Act, to return only <i>one</i> Member each.	3 After Act, to return one or two <i>More or New</i> Members each, as stated.
<i>Gloucester.</i> (nil.) —	<i>Gloucester.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Gloucester, Co.</i> (2) East 2
<i>Herefordsh.</i> Weobly 2	<i>Herefordsh.</i> „ —	„ „ West 2
<i>Salop.</i> Bishop's Castle 2	<i>Salop.</i> „ —	„ Cheltenham.... 1
<i>Stafford.</i> (nil.)..... —	<i>Staffordsh.</i> „ —	„ Stroud 2
<i>Worcester.</i> „ —	<i>Worcester.</i> Droitwich 1	<i>Hereford, Co.</i> (2) 3
<i>Monmouth.</i> „ —	<i>Monmouths.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Salop,</i> „ (2) North 2
		„ „ South 2
		<i>Stafford,</i> „ (2) North 2
		„ „ South 2
		„ Stoke-on-Trent 2
		„ Walsall 1
		„ Wolverhampton 2
		<i>Worcester, Co.</i> (2) East 2
		„ „ West 2
		„ Dudley 1
		„ Kidderminster 1
		<i>Monmouth, Co.</i> (2) —
4	1	<i>Cos. 9 :—Boros. 10 = 19</i>

VII.—MIDLAND.

<i>Warwick.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Warwick.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Warwick, Co.</i> (2) North 2
<i>Leicester.</i> „ —	<i>Leicester.</i> „ —	„ „ South 2
<i>Derby.</i> „ —	<i>Derby.</i> „ —	„ Birmingham 2
<i>Nottinghamsh.</i> „ —	<i>Notts.</i> „ —	<i>Leicester, Co.</i> (2) North 2
		„ „ South 2
		<i>Derby, Co.</i> (2).....North 2
		„ „South 2
		<i>Notts, Co.</i> (2).....North 2
		„ „South 2
		<i>Cos. 8 :—Boros. 2 = 10</i>

APP. (R.)^a—Continued.—Alterations under Reform Act, 1832.

VIII.—NORTH WESTERN.

1 Wholly Disfranchised.	2 After Act, to return only <i>one</i> Member each.	3 After Act, to return one or two <i>More or New</i> Members each, as stated.
<i>Chester.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Chester.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Chester, Co. (2)</i> North 2
<i>Lancaster.</i> Newton.... 2	<i>Lancaster.</i> Clitheroe 1	" " South 2
<i>York, W.R.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>York, W.R.</i> (nil.).... —	" " Macclesfield 2
		" " Stockport 2
		<i>Lancaster, Co. (2)</i> North 2
		" " South 2
		" " Blackburn 2
		" " Ashton 1
		" " Bolton 2
		" " Bury 1
		" " Manchester 2
		" " Oldham 2
		" " Rochdale 1
		" " Salford 1
		" " Warrington 1
		<i>York, W.R., Co. (2)</i> 2
		" " Bradford 2
		" " Halifax 2
		" " Huddersfield 1
		" " Leeds 2
		" " Sheffield 2
		" " Wakefield 1
—	—	<i>Cos. 4 :—Boros. 27 = 31</i>
2	1	

IX.—NORTHERN.

<i>Durham.</i> (nil.) —	<i>Durham.</i> (nil.) —	<i>Durham, Co. (2)</i>....North 2
<i>Northumberland.</i> ,, —	<i>North'land.</i> Morpeth 1	" " South 2
<i>Cumberland.</i> ,, —	<i>Cumb'land.</i> (nil.) —	" " Gateshead 1
<i>W'morland.</i> Appleby 2	<i>Westmorland.</i> ,, —	" " South Shields.... 1
<i>York, N.R.</i> Aldboro' 2	<i>York, N.R.</i> Thirsk 1	" " Sunderland..... 2
,, Borobridge 2	,, Northallerton 1	<i>North'land, Co. (2)</i> North 2
		" " South 2
		" " Tynemouth ... 1
		<i>Cumb'land, Co. (2)</i> East 2
		" " West 2
		" " Whitehaven ... 1
		<i>Westmoreland, Co. (2)</i> ... —
		" " Kendal ... 1
		<i>York, N.R., County (1)</i> 2
		" " Whitby 1
—	—	<i>Cos. 7 :—Boros. 8 = 15</i>
6	3	

(X. and XI., North and South Wales, are put to page 217 ante).

TABLE S.

SCHEME OF 1854. *Outline, arranged in the groups of Counties, of the Changes in the Representation of England and Wales proposed by the Bill introduced into the Commons in Feb. 1854, by Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham, but withdrawn before the Second Reading.*

[Col. 1 shows the number of Members obtained by *wholly disfranchising* the Places there named:—Col. 2 shows the number of Members cancelled by withdrawing *a moiety* of the present representation of the Places named:—Col. 3 shows the *Additional Members* proposed to be given to certain places and parts of counties; thus:—*Middlesex* was proposed to be raised from (2) Members to 3.]

I.—METROPOLITAN.

1 To be Wholly Disfranchised.	2 After Act, to return only <i>one</i> Member each.	3 After Act, to return one or two <i>More or New</i> Members, as stated.
nil.	nil.	<i>Middlesex, County</i> (2) 1 <i>Chelsea</i> 2 <i>Inns of Court</i> 2 <i>London University</i> 1 <hr/> <i>Cos. 1 :—Boros. 5 = 6</i>

II.—SOUTH-EASTERN.

<i>Surrey. Reigate</i> 1	<i>Surrey. Guildford</i> 1	<i>Kent, County</i> (2) East... 1 " " (2) West... 1
<i>Sussex. Arundel</i> 1	<i>Sussex. Chichester</i> 1	<i>Surrey, County</i> (2) East 1
" <i>Midhurst</i> 1	" <i>Lewes</i> 1	<i>Sussex, County</i> (2) East 1
<i>Hants. Andover</i> 2	<i>Hants. Lymington</i> 1	<i>Hants, County</i> (2) North 1
	" <i>Newport, I.W.</i> 1	
—	—	<i>Cos. 5</i>
5	5	

III.—SOUTH MIDLAND.

<i>Berks. (nil.)</i> —	<i>Berks. (nil.)</i> —	<i>Berks. (nil.)</i> —
<i>Herts. " "</i> —	<i>Herts. Hertford</i> 1	<i>Herts. " "</i> —
<i>Bucks. " "</i> —	<i>Bucks. Buckingham</i> 1	<i>Bucks. " "</i> —
	" <i>Marlow</i> 1	
<i>Oxon. " "</i> —	" <i>Windsor</i> 1	<i>Oxon. " "</i> —
	" <i>Wycombe</i> 1	
<i>No'amptonsh. " "</i> —	<i>Oxon. (nil.)</i> —	<i>No'amptonsh. " "</i> —
<i>Beds. " "</i> —	<i>No'amptn: h.</i>	<i>Beds, County</i> (2) 1
	<i>Peterborough</i> 1	
	<i>Beds. (nil.)</i> —	
	—	<i>Cos. 1</i>
	6	

APP. (S.)—Continued.—Scheme of 1854.

IV.—EASTERN.

1 To be Wholly Disfranchised.	2 After Act, to return only <i>one</i> Member each.	3 After Act, to return one or two <i>More or New</i> Members, as stated.
<i>Hunts.</i> (nil.)..... —	<i>Hunts.</i> Huntingdon 1	<i>Hunts.</i> (nil.)..... —
<i>Cambs.</i> „ —	<i>Cambs.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Cambs.</i> „ —
<i>Essex.</i> Harwich 2	<i>Essex.</i> Maldon..... 1	<i>Essex, County</i> (2) North 3
<i>Norfolk.</i> Thetford 2	<i>Norfolk.</i> (nil.).... —	„ „ (2) South 3
<i>Suffolk.</i> (nil.)..... —	<i>Suffolk.</i> „ —	<i>Norfolk,</i> „ (2) West 3
<i>Rutland.</i> „ —	<i>Rutland.</i> „ —	„ „ (2) East 3
<i>Lincolnsh.</i> „ —	<i>Lincolnsh.</i> Stamford 1	<i>Suffolk,</i> „ (2) East 3
<i>York, E.R.</i> „ —	<i>York, E.R.</i> (nil.).... —	„ „ (2) West 3
—	—	<i>Rutland,</i> „ (nil.)..... —
4	3	<i>Lincoln, Co.</i> (2) Lindsey.. 3
		„ „ (2) Holland 3
		<i>York, E.R.</i> (2) 3
		<i>Cos.</i> 9

V.—SOUTH-WESTERN.

<i>Wilts.</i> Calne..... 1	<i>Wilts.</i> Chippenham 1	<i>Wilts.</i> (nil.)..... —
„ Marlborough 2	„ Devizes..... 1	<i>Dorset.</i> „ —
„ Wilton 1	<i>Dorset.</i> Bridport 1	<i>Devon, County</i> (2) North 3
<i>Dorset.</i> Lyme Regis.. 1	„ Dorchester .. 1	„ „ (2) South 3
<i>Devon.</i> Ashburton.... 1	„ Poole 1	<i>Cornwall,</i> „ (2) East 3
„ Dartmouth... 1	„ Weymouth.. 1	„ „ (2) West 3
„ Honiton..... 2	<i>Devon.</i> Tavistock 1	<i>Somerset,</i> „ (2) West 3
„ Totness 2	„ Tiverton 1	„ „ (2) East 3
<i>Cornwall.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Cornwall.</i> Bodmin 1	—
<i>Somerset.</i> Wells..... 2	<i>Somerset.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Cos.</i> 6
13	9	

APP. (S.)—Continued.—Scheme of 1854.

VI.—WEST MIDLAND.

1 To be Wholly Disfranchised.	2 After Act, to return only <i>one</i> Member each.	3 After Act, to return one or two <i>More or New</i> Members, as stated.
<i>Gloucester</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Glo'ster.</i> Cirencester 1	<i>Gloucester, Co.</i> (2) West 3
<i>Hereford.</i> „ —	„ Tewkesbury 1	„ Bristol (2) 3
<i>Salop.</i> „ —	<i>Hereford.</i> Leominster 1	<i>Hereford.</i> (nil.)..... —
<i>Stafford.</i> „ —	<i>Salop.</i> Bridgnorth.... 1	<i>Salop, County</i> (2) North 3
	„ Ludlow 1	<i>Stafford, „</i> (2) North 3
<i>Worcester.</i> Evesham 2	<i>Stafford.</i> (nil.).... —	„ „ (2) South 3
<i>Monmouth.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Worcester.</i> „ —	„ Wolverhamt. (2) 3
	<i>Monmouth.</i> „ —	<i>Worcester, Co.</i> (2) East 3
		<i>Monmouth, „</i> (2) 3
—	—	<i>Cos. 6 :—Boros.</i> 2=8
2	5	

VII.—MIDLAND.

<i>Warwick.</i> (nil.)..... —	<i>Warwick.</i> Lichfield 1	<i>Warwick, Co.</i> (2) North 3
	„ Tamworth 1	„ Birmingham (2) 3
<i>Leicester.</i> „ —	<i>Leicester.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Leicester.</i> (nil.)..... —
<i>Derby.</i> „ —	<i>Derby.</i> „ —	<i>Derby, County</i> (2) North 3
<i>Notts.</i> „ —	<i>Notts.</i> „ —	„ „ (2) South 3
	—	<i>Notts.</i> (nil.)..... 3
	2	<i>Cos. 3 :—Boros.</i> 1=4

VIII.—NORTH-WESTERN.

<i>Chester.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Chester.</i> (nil.).... —	<i>Chester, County</i> (2) North 3
		„ „ (2) South 3
<i>Lancaster.</i> „ —	<i>Lancaster.</i> „ —	„ Birkenhead 1
		„ Stalybridge 1
<i>York, W.R.</i> Knaresbro' 2	<i>York, W.R.</i> Ripon... 1	<i>Lancaster, Co.</i> (2) North 3
		„ „ (2) South 3
		„ „ So.-East 3
		„ Liverpool (2) 3
		„ Manchester (2) 3
		„ Salford (1) 2
		„ Burnley 1
		<i>York, W.R.</i> (2) 6
		„ Leeds (2) 3
		„ Bradford (2) 3
		„ Sheffield (2) 3
—	—	<i>Cos. 11 :—Boros.</i> 9=20
2	1	

APP. (S).—Continued.—Scheme of 1854.

IX.—NORTHERN.

1 To be Wholly Disfranchised.	2 After Act, to return only <i>one</i> Member each.	3 After Act, to return one or two <i>More or More</i> Members, as stated.
<i>Durham.</i> (nil.) —	<i>Durham.</i> (nil.) —	<i>Durham, Co.</i> (2) North 3
<i>North'land.</i> „ —	<i>North'land.</i> „ —	„ „ (2) South 3
<i>Cumberland.</i> „ —	<i>Cumb. Cockermouth</i> 1	<i>North'land.</i> (nil.) .. —
<i>Westmorland.</i> „ —	<i>Westmorland.</i> (nil.) —	<i>Cumberland.</i> „ —
<i>York,</i> } Northallerton 1	<i>York, N.R. Malton</i> 1	<i>Westm'land.</i> „ —
<i>N.R.</i> } Richmond 2	—	<i>York, N.R., Co.</i> (2) 3
3	2	<i>Cos.</i> 3

X. & XI.—NORTH AND SOUTH WALES.

(nil.)	(nil.)	<i>Glamorgan, Co.</i> (2) 3
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A Summary of the results of these two Tables (R) and (S) will be found in the first part of the Paper in Table P (see page 194-5 ante).

TABLE T.

NON-PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGHs AND TOWNS IN ENGLAND AND WALES:—
*Including under that head all Towns in the several Counties, of 5,000
 inhabitants (in 1851) and upwards, at present not sending Members.*

II.—SOUTH-EASTERN (13 places).

<i>Kent.</i>	Dartford	5,763	<i>Surrey.</i>	Chertsey	6,025
"	Folkestone	6,726	"	Croydon (Par.)	20,031
"	Gravesend	16,633	"	Dorking	5,996
"	Margate	9,107	"	Kingston	6,279
"	Ramsgate	11,838	"	Richmond	9,255
"	Tunbridge Wells	10,587			
			<i>Sussex.</i>	Worthing	5,370
			<i>Hants.</i>	(nil.)	—

III.—SOUTH MIDLAND (6 places).

<i>Berks.</i>	Newbury	6,574	<i>Oxon.</i>	(nil.)	—
<i>Herts.</i>	Bishop's Stortford	5,280	<i>No'amptsh.</i>	Kettering	5,125
"	Hitchin	5,258	"	Wellingboro'	5,002
<i>Bucks.</i>	(nil.)	—	<i>Beds.</i>	Luton	10,648

IV.—EASTERN (11 places).

<i>Hunts.</i>	(nil.)	—	<i>Suffolk.</i>	Lowestoft	6,580
<i>Cambs.</i>	Ely	6,176	"	Sudbury	6,043
"	Whittlesey	5,472	"	Woodbridge	5,161
"	Wisbeach	10,594	<i>Rutland.</i>	(nil.)	—
<i>Essex.</i>	Chelmsford	6,033	<i>Lincolnsh.</i>	Gainsborough	7,506
"	Halstead	5,658	"	Louth	10,467
			"	Spalding	7,627
<i>Norfolk.</i>	(nil.)	—	<i>York, E.R.</i>	(nil.)	—

V.—SOUTH-WESTERN (8 places).

<i>Wills.</i>	(nil.)	—	<i>Cornwall.</i>	Camborne	6,547
<i>Dorset.</i>	(nil.)	—	"	Penzance	9,214
			"	Redruth	7,095
<i>Deron.</i>	Brixham	5,627	<i>Somerset.</i>	Yeovil	5,985
"	Exmouth	5,123			
"	Teignmouth	5,013			
"	Torquay	7,903			

APP. (T.)—*Continued.*—*Non-Parliamentary Boroughs and Towns.*

VI.—WEST MIDLAND (8 places).

<i>Gloucester.</i>	(nil.)	—	<i>Stafford.</i>	Burton	7,934
<i>Hereford.</i>	(nil.)	—	"	Leek	8,877
			"	Tunstall	9,566
			"	Wednesbury	11,914
<i>Salop.</i>	Oswestry	4,817	"	West Bromwich	34,591
			<i>Worcester.</i>	Oldbury	5,114
			"	Stourbridge	7,847

VII.—MIDLAND (11 places).

<i>Warwickshire.</i>	Leamington	15,692	<i>Derbyshire.</i>	Alfreton	8,326
"	Nuneaton	5,000	"	Belper	10,082
"	Rugby	6,317	"	Glossop	5,467
<i>Leicestershire.</i>	Hinckley	6,111	<i>Notts.</i>	Basford	10,093
"	Loughboro'	10,900	"	Mansfield	10,012
			"	Worksop	6,058

VIII.—NORTH-WESTERN (30 places).

<i>Chester.</i>	Altrincham	5,000	<i>York, W.R.</i>	Barnsley	13,437
"	Birkenhead	24,285	"	Bingley	5,019
"	Congleton	10,520	"	Dewsbury	5,033
"	Crewe	5,000	"	Doncaster	12,052
"	Hyde	10,051	"	Keighley	13,050
"	Nantwich	5,426	"	Rotherham	6,325
"	Runcorn	8,049	"	Selby	5,109
"	Stalybridge	20,760	"	Skipton	5,100
"	Tranmere	6,519			
<i>Lancaster.</i>	Accrington	7,481			
"	Burnley	20,828			
"	Chorley	8,907			
"	Colne	6,644			
"	Haslingden	6,154			
"	Heywood	12,194			
"	Hindley	5,285			
"	Leigh	5,206			
"	Middleton	5,740			
"	Ormskirk	5,548			
"	Over Darwen	7,020			
"	Prescot	7,393			
"	St. Helen's	14,866			
"	Ulverstone	6,433			

IX.—NORTHERN (8 places).

<i>Durham.</i>	Darlington	11,228	<i>Cumberland.</i>	Maryport	5,698
"	Hartlepool	9,503	"	Penrith	6,668
"	Stockton	9,808	"	Workington	5,837
			<i>Westmoreland.</i>	(nil.)	—
<i>North'land.</i>	Alnwick	6,231	<i>York, N.R.</i>	(nil.)	—
"	Hexham	4,601			

TABLE U.

ELECTION PETITIONS.—*Counties and Boroughs.—England and Wales, 1832-54.—Abstract of Complaints of Corrupt and Undue Practices, compiled from the details in the "Spectator" Newspaper of 7th January, 1854.*

[See Note at end of this Table U.]

Electors. I.—METROPOLITAN (1 County, 1 Borough).
 14,610.—MIDDLESEX (County). 1853. Petition, but not sustained.
 20,825.—*Finsbury 1853. „

II.—SOUTH EASTERN (12 Boroughs).

KENT.

1,874.—Canterbury. Several Petitions. In 1853 Members unseated, Writ suspended, and Commission issued.
 1,371.—*Chatham. 1853. Election Void for Bribery.
 1,751.—Maidstone. „ Member unseated for treating.
 856.—Hythe. „ Petition, but withdrawn.

SURREY.

648.—Guildford. 1853. Petition, but not sustained.

SUSSEX.

3,675.—*Brighton. Petition, but not sustained.
 1,090.—Hastings. „ „
 713.—Lewes. 1841. Petition, and Member unseated.
 562.—Rye. 1853. „

HAMPSHIRE.

241.—Andover. 1841. Petition, but withdrawn.
 353.—*Peterfield. 1833. Petition, and Members unseated.
 „ 1837. „ „
 2,419.—Southampton. 1833. Petition, and one Member unseated.
 „ 1841. „ both Members unseated.
 „ 1853. „ but not sustained.

III.—SOUTH MIDLAND (1 County, 10 Boroughs).

BERKSHIRE.

312.—Abingdon. Several Petitions, but withdrawn.
 1,399.—Reading. „ but not sustained.
 712.—Windsor. 1835. „ Seat transferred.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

685.—Hertford. 1833. Petition. Election void for bribery.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

1,417.—Aylesbury. 1847. Exposure of Treating.
 „ 1851. „ „
 354.—Great Marlow. 1841. Seat transferred.
 OXFORDSHIRE (County). 1837. Petition, but not prosecuted.
 347.—Woodstock. 1837. „ „
 2,818.—Oxford (City). 1833. Election void (no reason given).

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

518.—Peterborough. Members unseated—treating.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

910.—Bedford. 1833. Petition, but not sustained.
 „ 1837. „ seat transferred.

IV.—EASTERN (2 Counties, 10 Boroughs).

Electors.

2,852.—HUNTINGDONSHIRE (County. 1837. Petition, but not sustained.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

- 1,984.—Cambridge. 1840. Member unseated for bribery and treating.
 „ 1843. Seat retained, but under discreditable circumstances.
 „ 1853. Both Members unseated; Writs suspended; and
 Commission issued.

ESSEX (County).

- 272.—Harwich. 1847. Member unseated. Bribery.
 „ 1851. Election declared void.
 „ 1853. Member unseated. Paying money.
 845.—Maldon. 1853. Two Members unseated. Bribery.

NORFOLK (County). Petitions, but withdrawn.

SUFFOLK.

- Sudbury.* Disfranchised after repeated exposures.
 1,838.—Ipswich. 1835. Returns void by Bribery.
 „ 1841. „
 741.—Bury St. Edmund's. 1853. Petition, but not sustained.
 1,876.—RUTLANDSHIRE (County). 1841. Petition, but not prosecuted.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

- 1,363.—Lincoln. 1847. Member unseated for Bribery.
 987.—Boston. 1853. Petition, but not sustained.

YORKSHIRE (East Riding).

- 1,405.—Beverley. Petition, but not proceeded with.
 5,221.—Hull. 1853. Members unseated, bribery and treating, Writ sus-
 pended, and Commission issued.

V.—SOUTH-WESTERN (20 Boroughs).

WILTS.

- 680.—Salisbury. Undue Election.
 373.—Devizes. Undue Election.
 314.—Westbury. 1847. Petition, but withdrawn.

DORSETSHIRE.

- 508.—Poole. Petition, but not sustained.
 418.—Wareham. „
 509.—Shaftesbury. 1837. Members unseated.
 524.—Bridport. 1846. „
 309.—Lyne Regis. 1841. Member unseated.
 „ 1847. Seat maintained under questionable circumstances.
 679.—Weymouth. 1841. Members unseated. Seats transferred.

DEVONSHIRE.

- 349.—Tavistock. Member unseated. Defective qualification.
 771.—Barnstaple. 1853. Election void, bribery and treating, Writ suspended,
 Commission issued.
 302.—Dartmouth. 1845. Inquiries, but seat retained.
 „ 1853. „
 2,482.—Plymouth. 1853. Member unseated; bribery by himself.
 371.—Totness. 1839. Member unseated.
 „ 1853. Seat retained.

CORNWALL.

- 906.—Penryn. 1835. Inquiry, but Returns sustained.
 „ 1841. „
 367.—Bodmin. 1847. „
 578.—St. Ives. 1841. Petition, but withdrawn.

SOUTH-WESTERN—*Continued.*

Electors.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

383.—*Frome.	1837.	Petition, but not sustained.
688.—Bridgwater.	1837.	"
790.—Taunton.	1853.	Member unseated for bribery.

VI.—WEST MIDLAND (2 Counties, 20 Boroughs).

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

1,621.—Gloucester.	1835.	Petition, but not sustained.
"	1841.	"
"	1853.	"
2,400.—*Cheltenham.	1847.	Member unseated for bribery.
12,548.—Bristol.	....	Petition unsuccessful.
434.—Cirencester.	....	"

HEREFORDSHIRE (County). Petition, but not sustained.

1,013.—Hereford.	"
551.—Leominster.	"

SALOP.

1,666.—Shrewsbury.	1841.	Petition, but not sustained.
450.—Ludlow.	1839.	Return void by bribery and treating.
717.—Bridgnorth.	1853.	Member unseated for bribery and treating.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

1,246.—Stafford.	....	Four Petitions, but not sustained.
1,778.—*Stoke-upon-Trent.	....	Petition, but not sustained.
836.—Lichfield.	1841.	"
1,090.—Newcastle-under-Lyme.	1837.	"
"	1841.	Members unseated. Bribery.
1,026.—*Walsall.	....	Inquiries, but the Elections sustained.

WORCESTERSHIRE (County). 1835. Petition, but not sustained.

349.—Evesham.	1837.	Bribery prevailed.
390.—Bewdley.	1847.	"
495.—*Kidderminster.	1853.	Petition, but not sustained.
367.—*Droitwich.	1835.	"
2,290.—Worcester.	1835.	"

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

1,676.—Monmouth (District).	1835.	Made good its return.
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VII.—MIDLAND (4 Boroughs).

WARWICKSHIRE.

723.—Warwick.	1835.	Member unseated for bribery.
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LEICESTERSHIRE.

3,853.—Leicester.	1837.	Election sustained.
"	1847.	Election void. Bribery.
"	1853.	Election sustained.

DERBYSHIRE.

2,448.—Derby.	1847.	Both Members unseated. Bribery and treating.
"	1853.	Member unseated for bribery; seat transferred to another candidate.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

5,260.—Nottingham.	Inquiries.
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VIII.—NORTH-WESTERN (1 County 10 Boroughs).

CHESHIRE (County). Member petitioned against, but he retained his seat.

Electors.	YORKSHIRE (West Riding).
2,683.—*Bradford.	.... Petition, but not proceeded with.
1,200.—*Halifax. "
684.—Pontefract. "
1,364.—*Huddersfield.	1853. Member unseated. Bribery and treating.

LANCASHIRE.

2,854.—Preston.	1837. Petition, but not sustained.
2,950.—*Salford.	1837. Election maintained.
1,258.—*Blackburn.	.... Inquiries, and places greatly tainted.
448.— <i>Clitheroe</i> "
1,393.—Lancaster. "
17,433.—Liverpool. "

IX.—NORTHERN (6 Boroughs).

DURHAM.

1,157.—Durham.	1837. Inquiry, but seat retained.
"	1843. Member unseated. Bribery.
"	1853. "
1,973.—*Sunderland.	1841. Petition, but not sustained.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

781.—Berwick-upon-Tweed.	1853. Members unseated. Foul practices.
883.—*Tynemouth.	1853. Member unseated, Writ suspended, Commission issued.

CUMBERLAND.

1,134.—Carlisle.	1847. One Member unseated. Treating.
"	1853. The recognizances were objectionable.
355.—Cockermouth.	1853. Members retained their seats (under the unfavourable opinions of the Committee).

WALES, SOUTH (1 County).

4,791.—CARMARTHENSHIRE (County).	1833. Petition, but not prosecuted.
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WALES, NORTH (2 Counties, 1 Borough).

2,986.—MONTGOMERYSHIRE (County).	1833. Election declared void.
2,912.—FLINTSHIRE (County).	1841. Election declared void.
861.—CARNARVONSHIRE (District).	1833. Petition. Member unseated, but eventually restored.

Note.—The Places marked * are those enfranchised by the Reform Act of 1832. The figures *before* the Names represent the Number of Electors on the Register in 1851-2, as already given in Table Q. It would have complicated the Table too much to show how many *freemen* voters were on the Register in each place.

This Table (U) is wholly compiled from the statements given in the "Spectator" newspaper of 7th January, 1854. Those statements do not enable me to give the year of each Petition; and, although they have been evidently prepared with great care, it may be doubted whether they exhibit the whole extent of the Election Offences of the last 22 years, 1832-53. The results, however, as far as they go, are valuable and interesting.

Three general conclusions at the least seem to be justified by the facts in this Table (U), viz.:—

(1). That, in the great majority of cases, Election Petitions have been prosecuted against Boroughs with a small number of Voters;

(2). Or against Boroughs including a large proportion of *Freemen Voters*,

(3). And that the New Constituencies of 1832 have maintained a comparatively high character for purity.

TABLE V.

POOR RATE ASSESSMENTS 1848-49. *Four selected Counties—Lancaster, Suffolk, Hants, and Gloucester. Total Number of Properties assessed to Poor Rate at various Rentals—with Number of Excusals on the ground of Poverty.—(Compiled from Mr. P. Scrope's Parl. Paper 630, 1849.)*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Properties Assessed at Annual Value of:—	Lancaster.		Suffolk.		Hampshire.		Gloucester.		
	Assess-ments.	Excused.	Assess-ments.	Excused	Assess-ments.	Excused.	Assess-ments.	Excused.	
I.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Under £4.....	91,677	11,325	42,226	22,085	23,051	15,892	39,368	11,622	
£4 or under £5.....	47,207	4,192	4,467	974	6,544	2,388	6,259	1,393	
£5 „ £6.....	35,483	2,775	2,951	325	3,384	770	4,282	544	
	174,367	18,292	49,644	23,384	32,979	19,050	49,909	13,559	
£6 „ £8.....	45,013	10,795	3,348	134	6,952	1,513	6,092	897	
£8 „ £10.....	30,298	11,468	2,398	11	4,172	317	4,180	241	
	75,311	22,263	5,746	145	11,124	1,830	10,272	1,138	
£10 „ £12.....	19,623	5,839	1,886	2	3,152	306	2,694	72	
£12 „ £15.....	19,358	1,543	1,982	5	3,492	182	2,473	43	
£15 „ £20.....	19,842	1,074	2,258	3	3,822	89	2,900	19	
£20 and above.....	60,545	666	10,237	4	11,033	78	12,731	24	
	119,368	9,122	16,363	14	21,499	655	20,798	158	
II.									
Total Assessments	369,046	49,677	71,753	23,534	65,605	21,535	80,979	14,855	
Total Dwelling Houses assessed	340,070	....	59,064	....	59,765	....	67,874	—	
III.									
Total Annual Value of Property assessed to Poor, 1849-50	Mil. £'s 6.61	....	Mil. £'s 1.36	....	Mil. £'s 1.45	....	Mil. £'s 1.96		
Average Annual Value of each Property assessed, 1849-50	£17	....	£19	....	£22	....	£24		
IV.									
Total Amount of Poor Rate assessed, 1848-9 }	£ 651,700	....	£ 511,700	....	£ 171,100	....	£ 74,400		
Average Amount in £ of such Rate	s. d. 2 0	....	s. d. 7 7	....	s. d. 2 3	....	s. d. 0 9		
V.									
Total Annual Value of all the Tenements assessed for which the rates were excused	£ 367,000	....	£ 49,000	....	£ 71,000	....	£ 36,000		

TABLE W.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS, 1851-52. *Metropolitan Boroughs; Lancashire; Hampshire; and Gloucestershire.—Males 20 years and above, with various Proportionate results.*

I.—LONDON CITY AND ENVIRONS.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Adult Males, 20 and above.</i>	PLACES.	Number of Members.	Electors on Register, 1851-2.	Proportions.		
No.			No.	Members to Male Adults.	Members to Electors	Electors to Male Adults.
632,000	{ London and Westminster Cities and adjacent Boroughs	16	126,469	1 Member to 40,000	1 Member to 7,900	1 Elector to 5'0

II.—COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

11,700	Blackburn	2	1,258	5,800	630	11'0
6,070	Clitheroe	1	448	6,000	450	13'5
4,200	Lancaster	2	1,393	2,100	690	4'0
17,100	Preston	2	2,854	8,600	1,420	5'6
30,400	Ashton	1	937	30,000	940	30'0
15,750	Bolton	2	1,671	8,800	830	15'0
22,690	Bury	1	959	22,000	960	23'7
101,400	Liverpool	2	17,433	50,000	8,700	5'9
104,900	{ Manchester	3	{ 13,921	35,000	8,500	6'2
	{ Salford		{ 2,950			
18,760	Oldham	2	1,890	9,400	940	9'5
19,000	Rochdale	1	1,160	19,000	1,160	19'0
9,500	Warrington	1	701	9,000	700	13'5
20,000	Wigan	2	718	10,000	360	27'7
381,470		22	48,293	17,300	2,200	7'9
157,530	Rest of County	4	33,493	39,400	8,400	4'7
539,000	Total	26	81,786	20,700	3,140	6'5

III.—COUNTY OF SUFFOLK.

8,470	Ipswich	2	1,838	4,230	920	4'0
3,310	Bury St. Edmund's	2	741	1,650	370	4'7
1,790	Eye	1	356	1,790	350	6'0
13,570		5	2,935	2,700	600	4'6
73,430	Rest of County	4	10,722	18,300	2,700	6'6
87,000	Total ..	9	13,657	9,700	1,520	6'4

APP. (W).—Continued.—Parliamentary Electors, 1851-2.

IV.—HAMPSHIRE.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Adult Males, 20 and above.</i>	PLACES.	Number of Members.	Electors on Register, 1851-2.	Proportions.		
				Members to Male Adults.	Members to Electors	Electors to Male Adults.
No.			No.	1 Member to	1 Member to	1 Elector to
1,800	Andover.....	2	241	900	120	9'0
1,800	Petersfield.....	1	353	1,800	350	6'0
4,330	Winchester.....	2	788	2,160	400	6'1
2,120	Christchurch.....	1	313	2,120	310	7'0
1,700	Lymington.....	2	388	850	170	5'6
20,720	Portsmouth.....	2	3,332	10,360	1,600	7'0
9,140	Southampton.....	2	2,419	4,600	1,200	4'4
2,700	Newport, Isle of Wight....	2	707	1,350	350	3'8
44,310		14	7,491	3,160	535	6'3
64,690	Rest of County.....	5	10,955	13,000	2,200	5'9
109,000	Total.....	19	18,446	5,740	970	6'0

V.—COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.

10,060	Cheltenham.....	1	2,400	10,000	2,400	5'0
5,660	Cirencester.....	2	434	2,800	220	14'0
5,220	Gloucester.....	2	1,621	2,600	800	2'5
9,350	Stroud.....	2	1,328	4,700	660	9'0
4,020	Tewkesbury.....	2	370	2,000	130	13'3
33,550	Bristol.....	2	12,548	16,700	6,250	2'7
67,860		11	18,701	6,170	1,700	3'6
39,140	Rest of County.....	4	16,621	10,000	4,150	2'3
107,000	Total.....	15	35,321	7,130	2,353	3'0

An abstract of the statement (W) is given in the text, in Table O, at page 193 ante.

X.

ELECTORAL LAW OF 1856 of the Province of Victoria (Australia).
Clauses prescribing the mode of taking Votes by Ballot.

Under the Australian Colonies Government Act, 18 & 19 Vict., cap. 55, passed 16th July, 1855, entitled "An Act to enable Her Majesty to assent to a Bill as amended of the Legislature of Victoria, to establish a Constitution in and for the Colony of Victoria,"—the Legislature of Victoria established by that Act, adopted in March, 1856, an Electoral Law for the Province, entitled "An Act to provide for the Election of Members to serve in the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Victoria respectively."

In this Act provision is made for taking the Votes of the Electors of the Province by way of Ballot; and the following are the Clauses of the Act containing the details of the enactment. A General Election has taken place under this Ballot Law, and it is said that the working of the scheme has been satisfactory.

XXXV. At every booth or polling-place there shall be one or more compartments or Ballot Rooms, provided with ink and pens, for the purpose of enabling the Elector to mark the ballot-paper, as hereinafter provided, in which room no person other than the Returning Officer or his deputy, the poll clerk, and the scrutineers of the several Candidates to be appointed as hereinafter provided, and the Electors who shall for that time be tendering their votes, shall be entitled to be present; and any person other than such Returning Officer, poll clerk, scrutineers, and Electors actually recording their votes, who shall intrude into such room, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour. Provided always, that it shall be lawful for the Returning Officer and Deputy Returning Officer, or poll clerk, to summon to his assistance in such compartment or room any member or members of the police force for the purpose of preserving the public peace, quelling any breach thereof that may have arisen, and for removing out of such room any person or persons who may in his opinion be obstructing the polling or wilfully violating any of the provisions of this Act.

XXXVI. The Returning Officer or his deputy shall provide a locked box, of which he shall keep the key, with a cleft or opening in such box capable of receiving the ballot-paper, and which box shall stand upon the table at which the Returning Officer, Deputy Returning Officer, or poll clerk, and scrutineers, preside. And each Elector shall, having previously satisfied, as herein provided, the Returning Officer or his deputy that he is entitled to vote at such election, then receive from the Returning Officer or Deputy Returning Officer, or poll clerk, a ballot-paper, in the form in the Schedule hereunto annexed, marked (F), *and which ballot-paper shall be signed upon the back by the Returning Officer with his name*; and such Elector shall, in the compartment or Ballot Room provided for the purpose, strike out the names of such Candidates as he does not intend to vote for, and shall forthwith fold up the same in such manner *as will conceal the names of the Candidates* and display that of the Returning Officer written upon the back, and deposit it in the ballot box, in the presence of the Returning Officer or Deputy Returning Officer, or poll clerk, and scrutineers; and in case such Elector shall be unable to read, or shall be blind, he shall signify the same to the Returning Officer or Deputy Returning Officer, or poll clerk, who shall thereupon mark or strike out the names of such Candidates as the Elector may designate, and no Elector shall take out of such room any such ballot-paper either before or after he has marked the same; and any Elector wilfully infringing any of the provisions of this clause, or obstructing the polling by any unnecessary delay in performing any act within the Ballot Room, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour.

XXXVII. After the nomination of the several Candidates for the province or district shall have taken place, the Returning Officer shall cause to be printed a number of ballot-papers of the form (F), which ballot-papers he shall keep in his own custody, and before the day of polling, he shall deliver to each Deputy Return-

ing Officer such number of ballot-papers, signed by himself, as shall be sufficient for the Electors who may poll at the booth or polling-place within such deputy's division; and he shall also sign a sufficient number of ballot-papers for the Electors who may poll at the booth or polling-place over which he shall himself preside, and it shall be the duty of the Returning Officer and Deputy Returning Officers to keep an exact account of such signed ballot-papers.

XXXVIII. Before delivering the ballot-paper to the Elector as hereinbefore provided, the Returning Officer or Deputy Returning Officer, or poll clerk, shall write upon each ballot-paper so delivered to such Elector the number corresponding to the number set opposite to the Elector's name in the electoral roll, and shall thereupon check or mark off upon a certified copy of the electoral roll such voter's name as having voted, and such numbers corresponding as aforesaid shall be sufficient *prima facie* evidence of the identity of the Electors whose names shall appear on the roll, and of the fact of their having voted at the election at which such ballot-papers were delivered.

XXXIX. The Returning Officer shall preside at one polling-place within his province or district, and shall appoint, by writing under his hand, a deputy or deputies, or poll clerk, to act for him and preside at each of the other polling-places or booths appointed as aforesaid for taking the poll for such province or district, or any division thereof respectively, and a poll clerk for each compartment or Ballot Room when there be more than one.

XL. At every poll voting shall commence at Nine o'clock in the forenoon, and shall finally close at Four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, unless adjourned, as herein provided, by reason of riot or other interruption, and shall be conducted in manner following, that is to say: every Elector shall vote at the polling-place appointed for the division of the province or district respectively upon the roll for which his name shall be, and every such Elector may vote for any number of Candidates not exceeding the number of members then to be chosen, and any ballot-paper recording a greater number of votes shall be rejected at the close of the poll.

Other clauses provide for requiring Declarations from Returning Officers, Poll Clerks, and Scrutineers, to the effect that they must not attempt to ascertain for whom any elector may vote. It is also provided, that all Ballot Papers be preserved for two years.

The following is the Ballot Paper (F) referred to in the 36th clause:—

BALLOT PAPER.

Province or District _____

Candidates' Names (arranged alphabetically), e. g.:—

WILLIAM BROWN,
CHARLES STEVEN,

HENRY SMITH,
JOHN THOMPSON.

Directions:—(1) The Voter is to strike out the Name or Names of the Candidate or Candidates for whom he does *not* intend to vote by drawing a line through the same with a pen. (2) He must be careful not to leave uncanceled more names than are capable of being returned for the Province or District in which he Votes; namely, _____ names, otherwise his Ballot Paper will be invalid. (3) If he cannot read, he may require the Returning Officer to strike out for him such name or names as he may designate. (4) The Ballot Paper so marked by or for the Voter is to be dropped by him into the Ballot Box. (5) The Voter is not to be permitted to take his Ballot Paper out of the Ballot Box or Polling Booth.